

# **Community Forests at a Crossroads:**

Lessons Learned from Lubuk Beringin Village Forest and  
Guguk Customary Forest in Jambi Province - Sumatra,  
Indonesia

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## **Abstract**

The study focuses on two types of community forest, village forest and customary forest - using qualitative case study from two villages namely Lubuk Beringin and Guguk in Jambi Province. The findings show that village forest management in Lubuk Beringin is mainly by village officials, while the customary forest, Guguk, host a self-determined customary community that pay attention to the representativeness of sub-clans within the forest management. The schemes nowadays are mainly self-supported by the people as the facilitation assistance given to the villages was primarily limited to the period until forest managing permit was obtained. The study identifies three main actors at the village level, namely Warsi (Indonesian Conservation Community, KKI-Warsi), forest managing groups, and the villagers. The relations between these actors are analyzed using the 'Actor-Centered Power concept'. Warsi is shown to be the driving force in the adoption of both the village forest and customary forest schemes. The study of power relations between these three groups shows that trust, incentives and coercion are all relevant to different extents.

**Key words:** Community Forest, Village Forest, Customary Forest, Lubuk Beringin, Guguk Customary Community, Community-Based Forest Management, Actor-Centered Power concept, Power Relations.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>ACP</b>	Actor-Centered Power
<b>AMAN</b>	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara</i>
<b><i>Bujang Raba</i></b>	<i>Bukit Panjang Rantau Bayur</i>
<b>BPD</b>	<i>Badan Permusyawaratan Desa</i>
<b>CBFM</b>	Community-Based Forest Management
<b>CFM</b>	Community Forest Management
<b>CFWG</b>	Community Forestry Working Group
<b>CIFOR</b>	Center for International Forestry Research
<b>CSR</b>	Corporate Social Responsibility
<b>DfID</b>	Department for International Development (UK)
<b>DNPI</b>	<i>Dewan Nasional Perubahan Iklim</i>
<b>DTE</b>	Down To Earth
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>FMU</b>	Forest Managing Unit
<b>FZL</b>	Frankfurt Zoological Society
<b>ICRAF</b>	International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (World Agroforestry Centre)
<b>HKm</b>	<i>Hutan Kemasyarakatan</i>
<b>HTR</b>	<i>Hutan Tanaman Rakyat</i>
<b>ICDP-TNKS</b>	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects- Kerinci Seblat National Park
<b>IDT</b>	<i>Inpres Desa Tertinggal</i>
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>IFAD</b>	International Fund for Agricultural Development
<b><i>Injapsin</i></b>	Indonesia-Japan-Singapore
<b>JFM</b>	Joint Forest Management
<b>KBBI</b>	<i>Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia</i>
<b>KKI-Warsi</b>	<i>Komunitas Konservasi Indonesia-Warsi</i>

<b>KPHA</b>	<i>Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Adat</i>
<b>KPHD</b>	<i>Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Desa</i>
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>NORAD</b>	The Norwegian Agency for Development
<b>NTFPs</b>	Non-Timber Forest Products
<b><i>Perdes</i></b>	<i>Peraturan Desa</i>
<b>PHBM</b>	<i>Pengelolaan Hutan Berbasis Masyarakat</i>
<b>PKK</b>	<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i>
<b>PLTKA</b>	<i>Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Kincir Air</i>
<b>PFM</b>	Participatory Forest Management
<b>PLN</b>	<i>Perusahaan Listrik Negara</i>
<b><i>Pokja</i></b>	<i>Kelompok Kerja</i>
<b><i>Posyandu</i></b>	<i>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu</i>
<b>PT</b>	<i>Perseroan Terbatas (Co. or Ltd.)</i>
<b>RaCSA</b>	Rapid Carbon Stock Appraisal
<b>REDD+</b>	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
<b>REDD-ALERT</b>	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation through Alternative Land-uses in Rainforests of the Tropics
<b>RFN</b>	Rainforest Foundation of Norway
<b>RPP <i>Hutan Adat</i></b>	<i>Rancangan Peraturan Pemerintah- Hutan Adat</i>
<b>RUPES</b>	Reward for Upland Poor and Environmental Services
<b>SK</b>	<i>Surat Keputusan</i>
<b>SPIA</b>	Standing Panel on Impact Assessment of the Consultative Group in International Agricultural Research
<b>TFCA</b>	Tropical Forest Conservation Action
<b>UN-REDD</b>	United Nations-Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
<b>WALHI</b>	<i>Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia</i>
<b>YGB</b>	<i>Yayasan Gita Buana</i>
<b>ZSL</b>	Zoological Society of London



# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

According to the World Bank report, Indonesia is now the world's third biggest emitter of greenhouse gases (World Bank, 2007). Considering its high rate of deforestation, Indonesia was included as one of the nine pilot countries for the United Nations Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (UN-REDD). In Copenhagen (2009), government of Indonesia expressed its serious commitment to reduce such trend with the pledge by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono that stated Indonesia could reduce its emissions by 26 % with domestic effort and by 41 % with international assistance (Ardiansyah, 2009). The pledge has increased the pressure for Indonesia to show its serious commitment. It has been shown through the signing of Moratorium Oslo between Norway and Indonesia in 2010. The president then launched the "One Billion Indonesian Trees for the World" program in the same year and also promises to allocate more forest area to be managed by forest dependent communities.

In Indonesia, the right to use, manage and/or destroy natural forest, by the constitution, is vested in the state for the benefit of the people (Akiefnawati et al., 2010). In other words, Indonesian government hold the biggest power to manage forest and its resources. The devolution of the forests for commercial purposes; marking which area as forest and non-forest area; and area to be managed by community rest solely on the hands of Minister of Forestry. It is important to note however that state is not always the best manager of the forest. As can be seen from the previous dictatorship regime by Soeharto, forests in Indonesia have been severely degraded due to the use of timber export to boost the state's economy.

In the past where communities managed their forest based on informal rights, conflict prevails as communities struggle to retain their rights that evidently has been challenged by the generous release of forest concession to logging, palm oil, and mining companies. Forest dwellers and communities surrounding the forests continue

to be even more marginalized because of the conflicts. The Indonesian Constitution No. 41 of 1999, article 5 on the status and function of the forest, states that Indonesian forests are divided into state forest and privately owned forest. The state forest could take the form of customary forest (*hutan adat*). Meanwhile, within the state forest, an area that was designated for and also managed by village institution for the wellbeing of the people is called as village forest (*hutan desa*). This thesis mainly focuses on these two categories of community forest schemes (see Chapter 2 for details of other categories).

The first village forest in Indonesia is in fact located in Jambi. The province of Jambi in Sumatra Island is said to be the biggest host of community forest in Indonesia, covering area of 52,521 hectares (Antara News, 2012). Forest areas in Jambi are among the remaining intact forests in Sumatra that are indispensable for the livelihoods of forest dependent people, various endangered wildlife and tree species. At the same time, it is also vulnerable as conflict intensifies from land disputes between communities and companies. Derived from this fact, many villages and customary communities strive to gain formal recognition from the state to manage the forests. Nowadays, community forest scheme is seen as viable conflict resolution for land disputes.

Nevertheless, after communities obtain the rights to manage the forest, little have been researched about how they carry on with the management. Most literature mainly focuses on the process of establishing the scheme and obtaining the managing permit. Against this backdrop, I decided to discuss two categories of community forest schemes that Jambi province mainly has which are village forest and customary forest. I then based my research on the case study of Lubuk Beringin as village forest (*hutan desa*), and Guguk village as customary forest (*hutan adat*).

## **1.2 Research Question**

In order to have better understanding about village forest and customary forest, I therefore propose the following research question:

1. What do village forest and customary forest mean in practice?

### 1.3 Research Objectives

This thesis therefore aims at the following:

1. To describe characteristics of village forest and customary forest schemes
2. To identify and describe the key actors at the village level, in relation to forest management
3. To describe and analyze the power relations among the actors

### 1.4 Research Significance

I propose this research in order to help my readers have a clearer understanding about community forest schemes, particularly village forest and customary forest. It has been promoted by many parties in Indonesia, thus it is important to identify the main actors behind the establishment of the schemes. I expect this study to enrich the literature on community forestry in Indonesia, especially on *hutan desa* (village forest) and *hutan adat* (customary forest). Hopefully it could be used as a reference for readers who have interests on the same topic.

### 1.5 Thesis Organization

This thesis will be presented in six consecutive chapters in this following order:

<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>
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This first chapter consists of background, research problem, research objectives, research significance, research scope, and thesis organization.

<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Literature Review and Conceptual Framework</b>
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This chapter presents several literatures that have been reviewed on Indonesian forests and community forestry, and previous literature on Village Forest and Customary Forest. This chapter also presents conceptual framework that is used to analyze findings about the community forest schemes and the actors' power relations.

**Chapter 3****Methodology**

Chapter three describes and explains about the research method, data collection technique, data analysis process, ethical and confidentiality issues, and limitations of the research.

**Chapter 4****Results**

Chapter four presents the data and information about characteristics of village forest and customary forest based on findings in the field. It describes the management entity, systems, and its supporting groups.

**Chapter 5****Analysis**

Chapter five describes the main actors in this study and their power relations in regards to forest management.

**Chapter 6****Conclusions**

The last chapter presents summary of the main findings, summary analysis, concluding remarks and further research.



# **Chapter 2 Literature Review and Conceptual Framework**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter begins with a review of studies on customary forest and community forest in general, governmental regulations, and forms of community forest schemes in Jambi province. It then sets out the conceptual framework that is used in the thesis.

## **2.2 Background on Indonesian Forest and Community Forestry**

The Indonesian Constitution states that ‘land and water and natural resources wealth are controlled by the State and used for the sake of people’s welfare’ (Larson et al., 2010). Larson stated that in 1960, the Basic Agrarian Law No. 5, developed with Java in mind, recognized traditional tenure systems but required people to register their land – something very few people in the Outer Islands (i.e outside Java and Bali), where most natural forests are located, were able to do (*ibid*). However, agrarian law continues to recognize that customary land belongs to customary communities, in contradiction with forestry law (van Noordwijk et al, 2008 cited in Larson et al, 2010: p79).

Furthermore, the Basic Forestry Law of 1967 has been problematic for forest peoples. It stated that ‘all forests within the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, including the natural resources they contain, are taken charge of by the State’ (Art 5, Para. 1).

Indonesia have experience massive forest loss between the 1980s and 1990s under the 30-year of Soeharto’s ‘New Order’ government that classified more than 75 per cent of Indonesian land as state forest (Larson et al., *ibid*, p. 80). Soeharto distributed these lands to reward political supporters. As a consequent, people who lived surrounding the forest were “expelled” or force to evacuate from the area. Vast areas were allocated first to timber companies, later to industrial timber plantations, followed by transmigration sites, and finally, most recently, oil palm and rubber plantations (*ibid*).

This trend was changed in 1999 with the revision of the Basic Forestry Law was that accommodate more for local management. It recognizes the existence of customary communities, cultures and forests; communities were granted the rights to help determine the size of their forest area, collaborate in monitoring, be protected by the government from pollution and deforestation caused by others and so on (*ibid*).

In the light of reformation era in 1998, Indonesia experienced a change from centralization to decentralization with the adoption of Indonesian Constitution No. 22/2009 about the delegation of governance authority to autonomous regions (provinces, districts and municipalities) and granted districts and municipalities' authority and responsibilities that explicitly included agriculture, environment and land. But the following year, a regulation No. 25/2000 defined mechanism by which central government could resume authority in situations where autonomous regions were deemed incapable of carrying out their tasks, thereby reaffirming the Ministry of Forestry's dominant role in forestry policy and planning (McCarthy et al, 2006; Larson, et al., 2010, *ibid*).

Over the past few decades, community forestry has been placed at the top priorities of forest policy makers to tackle forest degradation and the pervasive rural poverty in one single package of program by mobilizing local people, particularly those heavily depend on the resources and directly use them (hereafter 'direct forest users') through democratic processes of program formulation and decision making as well as the implementation of forest activities (Gauld, 2000 in Maryudi et al., 2012). Agrawal and Angelsen (2009) argued that communities in many regions of the world have always used and managed forests near their settlements. Governments and NGOs have also formally supported different versions of community forest management in many parts of the tropics during the past 50 years by recognising the potential of community forest (*ibid*). On a global scale, communities today exercise use and management rights over a large forested area – at least 10%, or 400 million hectares (White and Martin, 2002).

The concept of Community Forestry was initially defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) as “any situation that intimately involves local people in forestry

activity”. Community forestry was seen to comprise three main elements. These were, the provision of “fuel and other goods essential to meeting basic needs at the rural household and community level”, the provision of “food and the environmental stability necessary for continued food production” and the generation of “income and employment in the rural community” (FAO 1978). This definition thus encompassed a broad spectrum of possible linkages between people and trees, or the outputs of trees, and was as much concerned with people's dependence on existing forests as with reforestation.

Furthermore, Agrawal and Angelsen (2009) describe Community Forest Management (CFM) in a more operational way by indicating that it combines two things: a type of resource (forests) and a class of owner/manager (communities) (Chhatre and Agrawal 2008, p. 202). The term CFM broadly refers to many different, specific forms: participatory forest management (PFM), joint forest management (JFM), forest co-management and community-based forest management, which later translated into Indonesian language known as *Pengelolaan Hutan Berbasis Masyarakat* (PHBM). The viability of each management approach depends on the characteristics of the resource systems and their contexts; formal property rights arrangements, informal practices of use and governance, and relations of power and inequality. These power relations interplay within communities, among them and between communities and higher-level actors (Ostrom 2003, p. 202-3 in Agrawal and Angelsen, 2009).

The pronouncement of Jambi as the biggest host of community forest in Indonesia (Antara News, 2012), makes this a particularly interesting province to study. Jambi Province is the 10<sup>th</sup> smallest of Indonesia's 33 provinces; it has a varied landscape with peatswamps, lowlands, and mountainous areas. It is located in the island of Sumatra, bordering with South Sumatra province. The province of Jambi is covering 53,436 km square and comprising of 51,000 km square of land, and 426 km square of sea, was formed in 1958 (Purnomo et al., 2012). The National Climate Change Council (*Dewan Nasional Perubahan Iklim or DNPI*) is promoting Jambi, East and Central Kalimantan as models of green growth and REDD+ implementation in Indonesia. Jambi also qualified as a candidate province for REDD+ implementation by

the Ministry of Forestry as a result of regional consultation, along with Central Kalimantan, Papua, East Kalimantan, Riau, Aceh, South Sumatra, West Kalimantan, and West Papua (Caldecott et al., 2011 in Purnomo et al., 2012). The following map will show where Jambi is located in Indonesia, highlighted in green.



Figure 1. Map of Indonesia

Source: Website of Japan's Official Development Assistance to Indonesia

The decentralization process in Indonesia has pressured the Government to increase their efforts in empowering communities through the enactment of Government Regulations No. 6/2007 which describe government roles and requirements for empowering communities that includes: Provision of legal status, institutional enhancement/harmonizing interests of different sectors and actors, Guidance on production schemes/benefits sharing schemes, Guidance on technology, Human Resource Development, information access to markets, provision of forest utilization licenses. Based on this regulation, environmental NGOs who have helped the fight of customary communities for legal recognition towards their customary rights (*de facto*), seized the opportunity for recognition of *de jure* rights of the communities who live surrounding the forest through the issuance of managing permit. According to the current institutional arrangement for establishing a community forestry scheme, the

Government Regulation No.6/2007 indicated that a Forest Management Unit (FMU) should be established within the local government to manage a certain forest area located in one or more administrative areas (districts).

The Indonesian Forestry Law No. 41 of 1999 contains a number of mechanisms including privately owned forest (*Hutan Hak*), recognition of traditional rights (*Hutan Adat*), *Hutan Kemasyarakatan* or HKm, and village forest (*Hutan Desa*) (Akiefnawati et al., 2010). These mechanisms could be applied to forests that could be subject to permanent watershed protection status (*hutan lindung*) and forests that could be subject to sustainable logging practices or severely degraded areas for forest plantation development (including *Hutan Tanaman Rakyat* or HTR) (Akiefnawati et al., *ibid*).

There have been several types of community forests that were developed and promoted in Indonesia such as *hutan desa* (village forest), *hutan adat* (customary forest), *Hutan Kemasyrakatan* (HKm), *Hutan Tanaman Rakyat* (HTR), *hutan nagari*<sup>1</sup> and so on. The definitions that have been enacted in government regulations were *hutan desa*, HTR, HKm, and *hutan adat*. Furthermore, I made the following chart in the following page to show several types of Community-Based Forest Management (*Pengelolaan Hutan Berbasis Masyarakat*) schemes in Indonesia.

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<sup>1</sup> Basically the same as village forest, legalized by ministerial decree, but the term is particularly used in West Sumatra province. *Nagari* could mean the community governance within the village, in other words could be considered as sub-village governance.

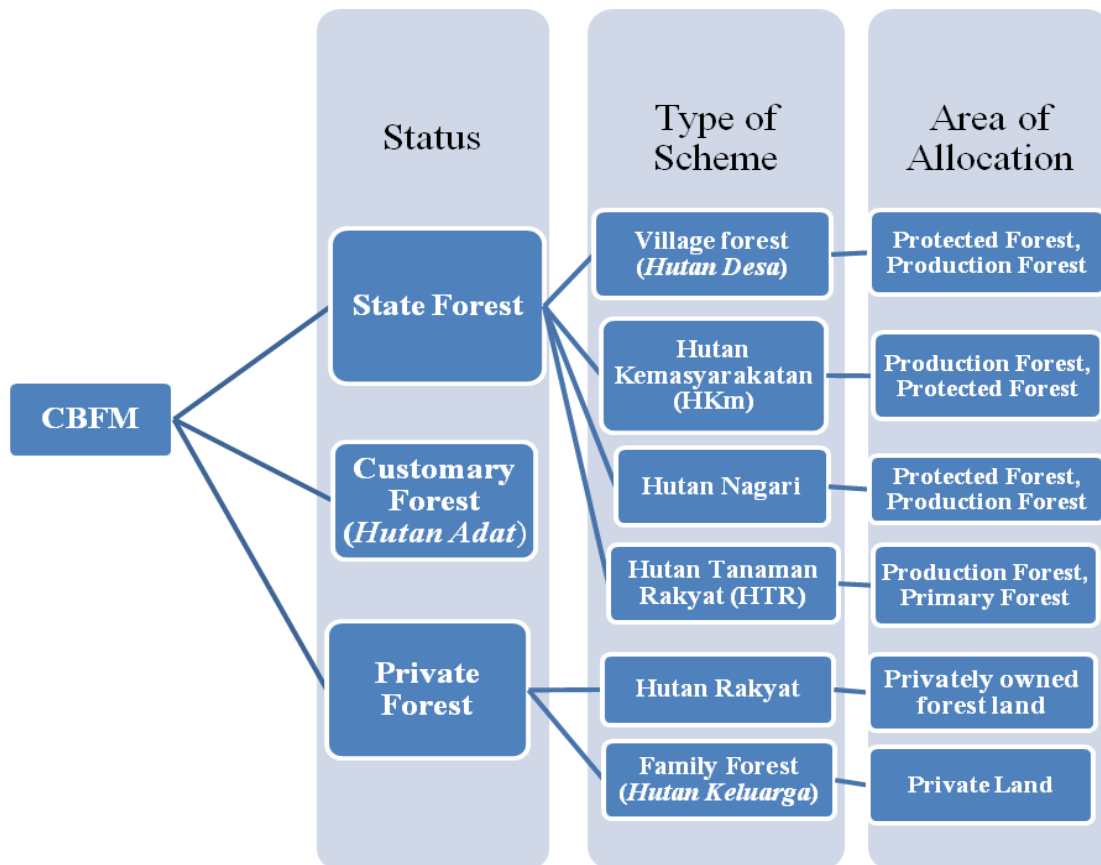


Figure 2. Community-Based Forest Management Schemes in Indonesia

Notes:

- Customary Forest is excluded from State Forest by May 16<sup>th</sup> 2013 through Judicial Review of Constitution No. 41/1999.
- Family Forest is forest owned by farmers which is planted with woody vegetation, mainly found in Nusa Tenggara.
- Hutan Tanaman Rakyat (HTR) could take place in primary forest that has been agreed previously to be converted into plantation area.
- Hutan Kemasyarakatan (HKm) is State forest with the main utilization objective for community development, however not necessarily for all community because mainly it was managed by group of people. According to Warsi,

Lampung province in Sumatra has a lot of this community forest scheme but Warsi do not promote this as they think it will only benefit group of people.

- The timber concession permit for Hutan Tanaman Rakyat could be given to individuals or saving and loan institution (*koperasi*), under three patterns: Independent, Partnership, and Developer.

## **2.3 Summary of Reviewed Literature on Village Forest and Customary Forest**

This section talks about literatures that had been reviewed on community forestry in general, and followed by literature on village forest and customary Forest schemes which are the two schemes I talked about in this thesis.

In terms of variety, the literature on Lubuk Beringin consisted of rubber agroforest, the village forest scheme, and tropical landscape of its district, Bungo District. Meanwhile, literature on Guguk village mainly talk about the struggle to gain recognition from the government to be admitted as customary community, and later to gain the managing permit for customary forest scheme. Among the literature on village forest that have been reviewed are by Bock (2012) about Formalization and Community Forestry in Jambi; Working Paper about Stewardship Agreement on REDD+ based on case study in Lubuk Beringin as the first village forest in Indonesia, additional literature on rubber agroforest in Lubuk Beringin was also being reviewed. In his paper Bock narrated the process of establishment of village forest in Jambi, and compared them with three other cases in *Nagari* forest in West Sumatra, community conservation agreement and co-management in National Park in Sulawesi, mass titling of *kampongs* in Bandung. He concluded that the mass formalization may result in semi-formal indigenous communities becoming the sole focus of programs to the exclusion of marginalized ‘informal’ migrant communities. He added that formalized indigenous communities may co-opt the state apparatus to defend their indigenous rights, thereby increasing the risk of human rights abuses within migrant communities (Bock 2012). Furthermore, several literature on village forest (*hutan desa*) have confirmed that one of the strengths of the scheme was its ability to accommodate the rights of migrants.

This context is relevant when being compared to the customary forest scheme which was being designated to a homogenous customary community. However, it should not be taken as negating the existence of migrants within a customary community.

Meanwhile sufficient amount of literature about Guguk Village have been reviewed. In Forest for Future (2009), AMAN<sup>2</sup> and Down to Earth (DTE)<sup>3</sup> worked together as a part of Multistakeholder Forestry Program by DfID (UK-Department for International Development) to compile and narrate stories from several customary communities in Indonesia. One of the communities was the *Marga Pembarap*, the indigenous community in Guguk Village. It highlights about the demography of the village, the history, the conflict with the company, and the process of inauguration as a customary community, and the recognition as a customary forest. Several news on Guguk village were found in the local newspaper in Jambi and also in national newspaper. Guguk customary forest has developed its own website<sup>4</sup> that will accomodate the readers with stories and early information on the scheme.

## **2.4 Village Forest (*Hutan Desa*)**

Chatellier and Osmond (2011) defined a village forest (*hutan desa*) as a state forest managed by a village institution and utilized for the welfare of that community. The allocation for the forest to be managed by the community could take place in either protected forest or production forest according to the Ministerial Decree on Village Forest No. P. 49/Menhut-II/2008. The forest should that could be designated should not bear any license. Ministry of Forestry is in charge of legalizing the forest which beforehand the regent should submit the proposal drafted by the village. A managing permit for 35 years then will be granted to the village and is possible to be extended. As a requirement, the vilage should establish a managing unit that will be in charge of forest management. The duty to form a managing unit is given to the village institution. Prior receiving the official rights to manage the forest, the managing uni

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<sup>2</sup> An NGO advocating on customary community issues with more than a thousand customary communities throughout Indonesia as its members.

<sup>3</sup> DTE was set up by the two UK-based NGOs, Tapol and Survival International, as a monitoring service for environment and development in Indonesia.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.hutanadatguguk.com/>



has to submit a short, medium and long term plan. Furthermore, the village has to finance the operation of the management by using village fund.

Bock (2012: 59) stated that if the village forest is established within a production forest, communities are permitted to harvest wood to process for commercial sale; non-timber forest products such as rattan, bamboo, honey, spices, and medicinal herbs could be taken by the villagers. Later He argued that in a situation where the village forest is located in protected area, such as in hills, steep slopes, in watershed catchment area; activities that could be done are limited to reforestation, harvesting non-timber forest product. Also, communities may have the chance to do conservation effort and receive reward from it through REDD+ scheme and payment for environmental services (Bock, 2012, *ibid*).

In 2007, Governmental Regulation No.6/2007 and later revised (Governmental Regulation No. 3/2008) has laid the legal foundation for the establishment of Village Forest. The regulation stated that the objective of enactment of Village forest is for the development of the villagers; secondly, the objects of village forest are production forest and protected forest; thirdly, the official who authorized them is the Minister of Forestry after receiving formal proposal from the regent or mayor (Riyanto, 2008).

Due to the success of village forest in 2009, Warsi, a conservation association in Jambi planned to extend the scheme of village forest together with the Forestry Office of Bungo district; and it is expected to create a parcel big enough to compete for a project that can be classified in terms of a Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) project (Feintrenie and Martini in Colfer and Pfund, 2011). The inspiring story behind the establishment of the first village forest in Indonesia, namely Lubuk Beringin set the precedence for other villages who want to adopt the same scheme. There has been an ongoing tug of war between the central government and the districts on forest management authority over the past decade (Larson et al., 2010). Some districts in Jambi have decided to change the formal village administrative governance back into the customary governance. This has been evident in the west Sumatra province with *Nagari* system (Raharjo et al, 2004; Larson et al., 2010).

Meanwhile in Jambi province the revived governance unit is called as *Rio* (Hasan et al., 2008 in Larson et al., 2010: p. 81).

## **2.5 Customary Forest (*Hutan Adat*)**

Indonesian Constitution No. 41/1999 concerning Forestry, sub-article 6 gives definition of customary forest as State forest that is located inside the traditional jurisdiction of a customary law community. Chapter 1 on Common Article, sub-article 4 defined that State Forest is forest area that is not subjected to land ownership. Therefore, all the forest that does not have a private land certificate are claimed by the the State, including the traditional land that has been inherited throughout generations even before Indonesian state was established. Article 4 (sub article 1) reasserts that all forest lands in Indonesia are controlled by the State for the prosperity of the people. The rights of the customary community are recognized within the constitution. However in reality, the customary community has managed their lands for a long time without legal document, some were lucky enough to have ancient documents or heirloom from their ancestors to track their origin. Due to lack of a legal document to claim their lands, customary community often found themselves helpless when disputes occurred with companies who have a formal concessions from the government. Another thing that undermine customary management of forest was the Indonesian Constitution No. 5/1979 which mandated at least superficial adherence to a standardized form of local governance across the nation, thus undermining the authority of customary leadership. Bennet (2002, p. 60) describes this law as intended to ‘subvert traditional forms of governance’ (cited in Larson et al., 2010: p. 80).

To sum up, a customary forest is, forest area that is managed by a customary community. Yet, in practice it is much more complicated. It is mandatory for customary community to be recognized by the state before they could claim a formal right for the management of the forest. If they fail to prove their history, origins and existence within the criteria that have been stated by the government; then the proposal to apply for customary forest managing permit will not be approved regardless the fact that they managed the forest traditionally for generations. Additionally, the permit that

has been given will be valid as long as the customary community survives. If one day they could no longer prove that they are still a traditional community, there is a great possibility that they might lose their legal rights and the right of management will return to the state. The draft of government regulations on the management of customary forest (*Rancangan Peraturan Pemerintah-Hutan Adat* or *RPP Hutan Adat*) has been and is still being discussed, thus no official law is passed. Given the absence of specific regulations on customary forest, the decision letter to obtain a managing permit for a customary forest scheme was issued only by district government. This was later claimed to have weaker legal basis when compared to a village forest scheme.

## **2.6 Who are the Indigenous People in Indonesian context?**

Indigenous and tribal peoples constitute at least 5,000 distinct peoples with a population of more than 370 million, living in 70 different countries, including Indonesia (ILO, 2009). During the Workshop on Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples (2004); a working definition on indigenous communities, peoples, and nations was offered in the Background paper presented by the Special Rapporteur of the Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. The working definition reads as follow:

“Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

- a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
- b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;

- c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);
- d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
- e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;
- f) Other relevant factors.

On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group). This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference” (p. 2).

In Indonesia, it is more common to use the term *masyarakat adat* or customary community when referring to people who have distinct culture, and still show some traditional characters that distinguish them from most of the people. Constitute of an archipelago of some 17,000 islands spread over 1.9 million km<sup>2</sup>, Indonesia is probably the most ethnically diverse country in the world, with some 742 languages and 283 million people representing more than 300 ethnic groups (Larson et al., 2010: p. 81). Claim as indigenous people in reality is much more complex as traditional practices have been slowly abandon due to high exposure to modernization. Nevertheless, communities who are still very traditional exist in Indonesia, some of whom are still very dependent on forest resources.

Article 67 of the Law described about the rights and the obligations of customary law community. The community shall have the rights to: (1) collect forest products for daily needs, (2) undertake forest management in accordance with prevailing customary laws and (3) be empowered for improving their welfare. These rights however can be recognized only as long as the customary laws do not contradict national law and local regulations. Meanwhile, the obligations of the customary law community are consisted

of (1) the obligation to preserve the forest area, (2) the obligation of conserving the protected flora and fauna that are located within the customary forest, (3) the obligation to protect the region from disturbance of human and other threat.

Thus, *adat* (customary) communities shall fulfill these following characteristics:

- A community who is still being organized and recognized themselves as one association under a common law (the Dutch term of *rechtsgemeenschap*);
- The presence of an active customary institutions and leaders;
- The presence of clear-defined customary land managed by *adat* (in here means the existence of lands managed through hereditary lines)
- The presence of legal enforcement (customary law, customary court)
- The community members still harvest forest products for their daily needs.

However, the situation becomes complicated when the legal stipulation of a customary law community (*masyarakat hukum adat or adat rechtsgemeenschap*) should be a prerequisite before the community could apply for the formal management of their lands. According to the new Forestry Law, Article 5 paragraph 1: “State forest could take form as *adat* forest, which is a state-owned forest that allows indigenous community to manage them.” To be recognized as indigenous or as customary law community; the people have to be able to prove so by presenting evidences from traditional way of living, distinct culture, historical documents if any (informal charter of the community), etc.” The process recognition however depend on the assessment of the investigation team mandated by the government. The task of investigating the existence of such community is bequeathed to the local government. The investigation team comprised of people who are considered as “experts” on customary community.

So, what is a customary community? Who exacty are they? There are very few explanations about what and how exactly it is to qualify as a customary community. In Indonesia, the term indigenous or native people (*masyarakat asli*) is often used interchangeably with customary community (*masyarakat adat*) to distinguish them from new settlers. The definition of customary law community (*masyarakat hukum*

*adat*) adopted by AMAN<sup>5</sup> (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* or Alliance of Indigenous People of the Archipelago) has been used widely in Indonesia:

“Communities that live based on the ancestral origins continually throughout generations in a customary (*adat*) region, which have the authority towards lands and natural resources, socio-cultural environment which being governed by customary law and institutions that oversee the continuity of its people” (AMAN First Congress, 1999).

AMAN constructed their hypothesis towards the idea that within the highly globalized society in Indonesia, there are communities who still identify themselves as a customary community. By April 2012, AMAN registered about 1,992 communities (AMAN, 2013)<sup>6</sup>. Because AMAN is considered as an expert in customary community, they have been involved in assisting the investigation of a customary community to be recognized by the Indonesian government. AMAN appeals for self-determination of customary community and also encourages tribal language and customary symbol to be used in everyday life. In order to gain AMAN’s recognition, a customary community has to sign up to AMAN’s membership. Later AMAN will investigate the community and give them a piece of paper that stated them as a ‘recognized’ customary community, and they are officially registered in AMAN’s database.

The membership requires the community to fill in a membership form and pay several membership fees. Firstly, one representative from the community has to fill out a ten-page registration form. The form requires answers about personal information of the form signer, his or her affiliation within the community; the data about the customary community itself; the geographical location; the history of the community; the history of land ownership; the area of customary land as a whole; the area of forest that was managed by the community; religion and beliefs; population demography; natural resources potentialities (timber, fisheries, mining, non-timber forest product, the amount of NTFPs produced per month, where the NTFPs were sold, how much the

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<sup>5</sup> AMAN claimed themselves to be the biggest organization that harbouring customary community throughout Indonesia.

<sup>6</sup> Between 2003-2007, AMAN had 963 members.

price per kilogram); musical instruments that the community possess; livelihoods; types of land ownership; the community version of land use system; local wisdoms that the community have in managing natural resources; customary institutions (the structure, if it is still functioning, questioning if so far there has been a good relation between the institutions and the government ones); customary court (the system, stages in conflict resolution, the name of the place where the session is held); economic, social and women's groups in the community; means and infrastructure that the community have; and finally the reason why they want to be a member of AMAN, and what they are expecting from the membership.

Furthermore, an additional three kinds of membership fee need to be paid throughout the years of membership, namely the obligation fee: Rp. 120,000/year<sup>7</sup>, cadre fee: Rp. 24,000/year, and voluntary fee. From the membership, the community will have the right to participate in AMAN's congress, district and regional deliberation meetings, having one vote in the congress and both meetings, being elected as part of the management for AMAN, shall be facilitated to enforce AMAN's mandate, and to suggest any other customary community who will fit into AMAN's membership.

The debate on customary community has many shades and not a black and white judgement. Gray areas exist within the claim of customary community since the law did not indicate the definition and the rights of the people in details. Many communities in Indonesia claimed that they are native to Indonesia and have been living throughout generations, and still practice traditional way of living. In order to capture the comprehension on customary community from the government and from the customary people, a national workshop is held in Jakarta between 5-6 Desember 2001. Table 1 shows the excerpt from the workshop.

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<sup>7</sup> Rp. 120,000 equal to +/- 12 USD or 70 NOK (Norwegian Kroner).

Table 1. Understanding of ‘Customary Community’ according to the Government and *Masyarakat Adat*

<b>Government</b>		
<b>Customary Community Traits based on the Indonesian Constitution No. 41/1999</b>	<b>Comprehension by the Government</b>	<b>Comprehension by the Customary Community</b>
Comply with certain Customs	Comply with a particular written law practiced in daily basis	Customary law could be traditions, habits, unwritten rules that have been remembered throughout generations
The existence of a Customary Institutions	Clearly defined and Formal Institutional Structure (which materialized in the existence of customary hall or <i>balai adat</i> )	The institutional structure is informal but admitted as part of the community as a whole
The existence of a Formal Customary Court	The form of sanctions that could be written and are valid in the case of violation, such as a fine	Unwritten sanctions, but has become a common understanding by the people
The existence of a customary jurisdictions	There has not been precision on the concept of boundaries from a customary jurisdictions	Boundaries is understood by the people and determined through natural boundary such as river
The usage and extraction of forest resources for livelihoods	The concept of “forest extraction by customary community” is still unclear as only commercial extraction is exist for forest industries	The concept that the people have is management, forest is considered as a bank, that could be used when needed

Source: National Workshop on the Mutual Comprehension on Customary Forest within the State Forest (CIFOR, 2002a)

Additionally, the view of a customary community towards customary forest is varied and much related to the local concept and understanding. There are communities who



defined customary forest as a sacred area where the ancestor's grave located; some also defined it as protected forest or forest reserve that could be cleared if the people need to open a land; and there are some others who consider all forest within their customary area as customary forest (CIFOR, 2002b).

Through the inauguration of an area to be a customary forest, difficulties will be faced if within the area that was considered as customary land, a land ownership by resident of neighbouring village or other village is exist. As a consequence, the inauguration process will be stalled. In Indonesia, the central government mandated the district government to be responsible for recognition of a customary forest. Therefore, it has authorized the district government to do investigation and inauguration of a customary law community; and also entitled them to issue decision letter for the customary forest.

As a matter of fact, the existence of customary forest is still highly debatable because the requirements to be called as customary law community disregard the development of the community. Despite that partial customary rights have been recognized and mentioned in the law instruments within the constitution, there is a tendency and expectations that one day the traditional community will eventually adhere to the national law and join the modern Indonesian community.<sup>8</sup>

## **2.7 Actor-Centered Power Concept**

This section presents the conceptual framework that is used in analyzing the research in order to explain power relations between the actors. This thesis uses the “actor-centered power” (ACP) concept of the Community Forestry Working Group (CFWG) in Göttingen, Germany that consists of three power elements: *trust*, *coercion* and *incentives*. The elements were derived from the basic assumptions on power made by Max Weber in political sciences and Max Krott in forest policy.

Devkota et al. (2010) mention in Paradoxes of Community Forestry that if devolution is applied honestly it may open a pathway for local development through local

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<sup>8</sup> Despite this, through the petitions by AMAN and other organizations for a judicial review of the Indonesian Constitution No.41/1999 on Forestry; Constitutional Court in Indonesia has finally excluded customary lands of indigenous people from State ownership by removing the word ‘State’ from the definition of customary forest. The amendment entered into force on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2013.

infrastructure development and various economic opportunities to forest dependent people (eg. Sikor and Nguyen, 2007: 2022, and Edmunds and Wollenberg, 2001). He further argued that there are controversies in this matter because many studies point out that devolution policy further enhances the state control over forest management. In many cases, forests are usually devolved to local arenas after they have been severely exploited and are in degraded conditions; states opened devolution concept to restore the degraded forest lands by taking advantage of cheap and voluntary labors (Thoms, 2006; Colfer, 2005; Larson, 2005; Edmunds and Wollenberg, 2001; Contreas 2003; Sarin et al., 2003; Shackleton et al., 2002; Devkota et al., 2010). Later, state has re-appropriated forest resources after locals have invested in their protection and improved their degraded status (Larson, 2005; Devkota et al., 2010).

In this thesis, I adopt the Actor-Centered Power concept that states: “*Power is a social relationship, where an actor A alters the behavior of actor B without recognizing B’s will.*” The power elements are further elaborated by Movuh and Schusser (2012) as follows:

“The first element, *trust* is defined when stakeholder B complies without check to stakeholder A’s information. ‘A’ might typically achieve this situation by persuasion, prestige and reputation or by withholding information from B. Trust can be assumed through furnishing or provision of information, checks or a high frequency of interaction with a stakeholder. It is B’s confidence to A’s goodwill that makes B behave accordingly. It happens when B has the reasonable expectation that following the guidance of A will be beneficial.

The second element, *incentives*, are financial or non-financial factors that alters B’s behaviour by motivation from A, which is most likely to be done by money, luxuries or any other kind of benefit. Here, transfers are likely to occur. In this case, it exists for B when B delegates to A control over good C in which B has an interest. To B, a behaviour according to A’s incentives produces more benefits than a pursuit of A’s former strategy to fulfill B’s objectives. It is important to note, that B’s inherent interests stay the same—just the behaviour changes, and this change was triggered by the benefits.

The third element, *coercion*, on the other hand is the practice of A forcing B to behave in an involuntary manner which can be done by violence or threat of violence.

Coercion is force and control. If one cannot control other stakeholders, then there is a coercion problem or there is no coercion. Coercion can go with threat or action as a means of control. It is the application of pressure and that is why it is a top-down approach. As coercion builds resentment and resistance from B, it tends to be the most obvious but least effective form of power because it demands a lot of control. When coercion comes to play, B can do little or nothing about it” (p. 244).

## Chapter 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology of the research. I describe about the research method, fieldwork site, data collection techniques, gaining access and seeking consent, ethical considerations, limitations, trustworthiness of the research, and reflections from the field.

### 3.2 Research Method

To meet the objectives of the research, qualitative research method is chosen. This research will be conducted with qualitative approach by combining several techniques in obtaining data such as literature review, key informant interview (semi-structured), observation, and the use of secondary data sources. In my opinion, practices, attitude and inter-relations are best described in words than numbers.

A definition I found that more or less represented my understanding of a qualitative research is by Van Maanen (1979):

Qualitative research is an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world” (p. 520).

Furthermore, Merriam (2009) argued that basically qualitative researchers are interested in *understanding the meaning people have constructed*, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world. According to Merriam, qualitative research could also be understood from their major characteristics. Firstly, the focus is on process, understanding, and meaning; the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis; the process is inductive; and the product is richly descriptive. From the four characteristics Merriam draw elaboration as follow:

“Drawing from the philosophies of constructionism, phenomenology, and symbolic interactionism, qualitative researchers are interested in how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, what meaning they attribute to their experiences. A second characteristic of all forms of qualitative research is that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Qualitative researchers build toward theory from observations and intuitive understandings gleaned from being in the field. Bits and pieces of information from interviews, observations, or documents are combined and ordered into larger themes as the researcher works from the particular to the general.

Finally, the product of a qualitative inquiry is richly descriptive. Words and pictures rather than numbers are used to convey what the researcher has learned about a phenomenon. There are likely to be descriptions of the context, the participants involved, and the activities of interest. In addition, data in the form of quotes from documents, field notes, and participant interviews, excerpts from videotapes, electronic communication, or a combination of these are always included in support of the findings of the study. These quotes and excerpts contribute to the descriptive nature of qualitative research” (2009, p. 14-16).

I would then use case study as a qualitative method for this thesis. According to Merriam (2009), case study is an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system. She also suggests that case study can be further defined by its special features which are particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic. “Particularistic means that case study focus on a particular situation, event, program, or phenomenon. Descriptive means that the end product of a case study is a rich “thick” description of the phenomenon under study. While heuristic means that case studies illuminate the reader’s understanding of the phenomenon under study. They can bring about discovery of new meaning, extend the reader’s experience or confirm what is known” (2009, pp. 43-44).

As a researcher with social science background, I was very interested to find out how the people perceived about the community forest scheme, and how they relate to it and this has been best documented with qualitative research technique such as interviews

and observation. I might miss valuable insights when collecting data with survey. Being the only instrument in the data collection and analysis, I found some challenges in terms of to what extent I could express my opinion in order to be less subjective. However, I try to reflect on the data that I have and always consider valuable inputs from previous literature.

### **3.3 Fieldwork Site**

My fieldwork took place in several villages in Jambi province. I visited three districts in the province; Kota Jambi which is the capital city, and two other districts, Bungo and Merangin District. I focus my research in two villages called Lubuk Beringin in the Bungo district and Guguk Village in Merangin district. During the fieldwork in Bungo district, I also managed to visit neighbouring villages namely Senamat Ulu, Laman Panjang, and Sungai Mengkuang. In Merangin district I only conducted research in Guguk Village. All of the villages I visited in Bungo district had the village forest scheme, and the one in Merangin district had a customary forest scheme.

### **3.4 Data Collection Techniques**

I entered the field with the assumption that I might not be accepted and be perceived differently by the people because of my ethnic background and my religion. This in fact did not pose much challenges in the field as I enter the field accompanied by Warsi staff who acted as my gatekeeper (see section 3.5 below). Interviews and observation have been carried out in three villages under the village forest scheme, namely Senamat Ulu Village, Lubuk Beringin Village, and Mengkuang Kecik Village. In order to create more focus on the research and to be able to dig deeper on the topic, this research will only cover data obtained from two villages that were chosen for the case study on community forest in Jambi, namely Lubuk Beringin village as an example of village forest scheme, and Guguk Village for the customary forest scheme. This thesis combined literature from the previous research on the topic and the data obtained during the fieldwork.

#### **3.4.1 Literature Review**

In order to tackle underlying issues on the research topic, it is very important to review relevant literature before identifying and establishing conceptual framework for this

thesis. Literature in here means the empirical data based on research studies which someone has conducted and analyzed. According to Merriam (2009), the process of reviewing literature can contribute to formulating the problem and answering specific design questions, knowing what research designs that have been used before, and with what success can eventually save time and money. She then further stated that researchers can benefit from knowing how well certain data collection techniques used in previous related studies may or may not have yielded meaningful data.

Among the literature that have been reviewed were literature on forestry in Indonesia, conflict in forestry sectors, community forest and REDD+, village forest and customary forest schemes, research methodology, literature on NGOs, customary community, customary law, government regulations and so on.

### **3.4.2 Key Informant Interviews**

Throughout my research, I mostly have interviewed key informant or respondents that were reliable and relevant to the purpose of the study. Among the people I interviewed, they were members of managing group, youth peer group, customary leader, religious leader, village chiefs, women group leader, village administration members, and also villagers in general. From interviewing the managing group, I obtained information about the process of establishing the scheme, and also about forest management style and regulations. Meanwhile, from Warsi I obtained early information about the condition in the field, and how Warsi viewed the community schemes. From interviewing people in charge of functional groups, I obtained data about how the group operated in daily basis. My respondents were both male and female. In order to reach my respondent, I usually came to their houses.

The type of interview that I conducted in the field was semi structured interview. The semi structured interview is in the middle between structured and unstructured. In this type of interview either all of the questions are more flexibly worded or the interview is a mix of more and less structured questions. This format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic. The semi structured interview required the researcher to ask questions from a predetermined list, but where the freedom is given to change the

sequence, give explanations and probe for greater depth of response. I documented the interview by writing them down on a book which had become my field notes.

At the start of each interview, I would have to introduce myself, stated where I come from, the purpose of the research. At the end of the interview, I would thank my respondents for their time. There were times, when I have to interview people who have just woken up from sleeping because people like to nap during fasting. I gave them time to prepare when they were ready for the interview. When the interview went on until evening, it should be terminated due to evening prayers. I decided to not record my interview because at times I found people became very formal and tensed as they were cautious of what they said when being recorded. Therefore, I wrote down most of the answers from my respondents on my field notes book.

### **3.4.3 Informal Group Discussion**

In the village, I also obtained data from conducting informal discussion. In Lubuk Beringin, I participated in the famous discussion forum among the villagers. In this informal discussion, people could pinpoint any issues and everyone was allowed to deliver their opinions. I also learned a lot from the people that they were very active when it comes to the village development. To avoid biases towards Warsi, I also discussed with random villagers to ask them if they knew Warsi and their opinions about them and also the managing group. The composition of the group discussions mainly participated by male participants, around 10 to 12 people.

### **3.4.4 Observation**

In both Lubuk Beringin and Guguk village, the villagers made me feel like I was in the middle of a live-inn vacation. They showed me the best component of the village in the forms of beautiful landscape with traditional houses, watermill, a green grazing area for the water buffaloes, traditional practice of harvesting wild forest honey, the seedling plot and tree nursery project, the agroforest rubber garden, and so forth. Accompanied by field staffs, I visited a river with giant stones that they claimed to be potential for eco-tourism object. I also observed daily routines in household, the relations between the families, children activities, how the men interact with women, the interaction between leaders and subordinates, parents and children relation,



functional group activities. Furthermore, I also observed how the people chatted while taking a bath in the river which was called as “*celoteh tepian*” or river-edge chitchatting which portrayed women’s thoughts on daily issues in the village. From my observation, I wrote journal about my activities during the day, recorded any thoughts, doubts, and new ideas.

### **3.4.5 Secondary Data**

I also used secondary data for my analysis. I was using books, journals, articles, and working paper. During the process of gathering information online, I discovered a Youtube channel under the account of KKI Warsi. The videos were made public in the channel and I found them very useful to get the sense of what Warsi had done in the field. Furthermore, I have obtained documents on the managing group’s workplan with permission, and I will use it for the purpose of this research alone. Brochures and publications by Warsi have been obtained with permission during the field work. Warsi’s publication booklets called *Alam Sumatra* are also available online, however it is only in Indonesian language.

### **3.5 Gaining Access and Seeking Consent**

Prior to coming to the field, I have communicated my plan to do fieldwork with a prominent facilitating NGO in Jambi province called Warsi. They came into my consideration as a gatekeeper because my acquaintance in Rainforest Foundation of Norway mentioned that Warsi was their long-established partner and they have been assisting various communities and forest dwellers in several provinces in Sumatra. I then established several email correspondances with some of Warsi’s staffs a few months before my actual trip to the field. I have indicated my intention in doing research and explained briefly about my research design. Finally they agreed to assist me in gaining access to the field.

I went to Jambi in late July 2012 and collected data in the field until mid-August. On the day I arrived in Jambi, I went straight to Warsi’s headquarter in Jambi city and met for the first time with the people in Warsi. The first district I visited is called Bungo district. It took me 8 hours on a car trip to reach the district capital, and later I had to stay for one night in the capital before continue the journey to the villages with

motorbike. During the trip to the field, I was accompanied by one Warsi staff from the headquarter. In the village, I encountered one field staff who apparently stayed there to assist the people. I also visited other villages in Jambi that are called Senamat Ulu, Lubuk Beringin, Mengkuang Kecil, I finally took one village in Bungo district which is Lubuk Beringin as my main focus for village forest scheme. Meanwhile, I took one village in Merangin district called Guguk Village as a model of customary forest.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

I realized that my presence in the village together with the Warsi field staff might give the impression that I belonged to the organization and it could influence my independence as a researcher. Meanwhile, preliminary procedure had been taken before initiating the interview. I have informed my respondent about brief description of my research, confidentiality issues, and that the interview would be used solely for academic purposes. I assured my respondents that I practiced no deception in this study and I treated them with respect. Therefore, at all times, I always explained my position as student from the University of Oslo and also as an independent researcher. I was also asking permission to document activities in the village, sometimes people also posed when I took their pictures. Some were reluctant to participate in the photo session, however sometimes I think they were just shy. At all times, I made sure I took off my shoes when entering someone's house as it is considered as habit and proper manner in Indonesian culture. However, I kept reminding myself, as it was possible to forget. Moreover, as a polite and friendly guest in the house where I stayed, I felt obligated to help my host family, mostly the mother to prepare meal.

Due to the nature of close relations among my respondents, I decided to minimize exposing their background on this thesis. This was a difficult decision for me because many such details gave additional depth to the analysis, some of which I felt were crucial to the meanings I was attempted to produce. However, certain details on their background might give significant clues to who they were and it might risk the confidentiality of my respondents. Therefore, when mentioning about my respondents, I simply use "respondents".

Prior coming to the village, I was aware that I should not wear shorts or clothing that was showing too much skin. However, when I came to Lubuk Beringin, I was not aware that some people in the village were expecting me to dress like the rest of women in the village by using head scarf and *sarong*<sup>9</sup>. It has left me feeling anxious and daunted for breaking the customs and norms. At that moment, I decided to follow what was culturally appropriate which was to cover my head and wear *sarong*. Afterwards, I appeared to be blended in with the rest of the villagers. However, I doubt that my “new look” had significant impacts on how the people disclosed information. At least, I was presentable to the locals and they were very happy to see me dressed like average villagers. I considered eating during the day was impolite because most of the people were fasting. I was also very much appreciated because during my stay I was also joining the fast. Throughout the days I spent in the villages, I was usually called to wake up for the *Sahur* meal before fasting until around 6 p.m. To eat heavy meal at 4 a.m. was not so pleasant at first, but then I got used to it and start enjoying the family atmosphere during the meal before dawn while trying hard to stay awake while eating.

In digesting the information while at the same time writing it down, at times I realized sometimes I could misunderstand the statement and have to ask for further elaboration. I recognized that my passive role as a researcher was when I was only writing during interview sessions. But when I observed activities and places, I was very interested and asking a lot of questions. Furthermore, in doing qualitative research, I realized that I could not avoid subjectivity. However, I usually tried to reflect on the data itself and my experience from the field. If I started to write in judgmental manner, I would rephrase them to show objective manner.

### **3.7 Research Limitations**

My original idea of this research was to take customary forest alone as the object of the research. However, after coming to the field, apparently there were other community forest scheme that was supported by Warsi, that if included might enrich the outcome of the study. Once I came to meet Warsi and had some discussions with

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<sup>9</sup> Large tube or long fabric, often wrapped around the waist, could be used by both men and women.

the staff, I discovered about village forest and *Nagari* forest which made me interested to learn more from these two schemes. I found out later that *nagari* forest scheme was only exist in West Sumatra. Derived from this fact, I decided to focus on customary forest and village forest in Jambi Province.

Since my first meeting in Warsi headquater, they already stated to me that access to another customary forest called *Batu Kerbau* would not be granted due to the hostile nature in the village as a result of ongoing conflict with a company. However, they promised me that I could visit Guguk village. While still collecting data in Bungo district, I was informed by field staff that facilitated Guguk village that it might be difficult to visit Guguk due to community's pious manner during Ramadhan month. This was my first experience of doing fieldwork, I was not expecting this and for a moment I was in distress. Since visiting Guguk was my original idea in the first place, I did not surrender to the situation. I tried to argue and convince Warsi staff to grant me access to Guguk village, and I succeeded. Finally, another field staff was delegated to assist me in the village and I concluded that it was due to his personal reason for not granting me the access in the beginning.

Post-fieldwork period, I realized I had a vast data from several villages under the village forest scheme. After some considerations, I decided to only use data from Lubuk Beringin and excluding data from other three villages. This was a tough decision, but probably viable as I could not do it justice to compare three village forests to one customary forest. I came to a decision to take Lubuk Beringin as a case study due to its history as the pioneer of village forest in Indonesia. Later on, I realized that my data from the other three villages were insufficient to explain about village forest scheme as they had just adopted the scheme recently.

Ramadhan month had already started by the time I arrived in Jambi province. This has, to a certain extent, limited my mobility in Jambi city. In the village, people had fewer activities during the day, and participated more in religious and worshipping routines. However, this was beneficial for doing interview at home and later at night people interacted more after the evening prayer. Even though Indonesian is the official language, the people in the villages spoke a local language called *Melayu Jambi*.

Therefore, confusion occurred during interviews but I still managed to understand by asking my respondents to clarify them in Indonesian language.

I found that the length of my fieldwork could be a limitation for the outcome of this research. Limitations on the field prevailed as I had limited funding and access to do research on villages was not granted after the Ramadhan month was ended because the villagers would be busy celebrating Eid Mubarak. All Warsi field staffs also received command from headquarter to evacuate from the village prior to the big day as Eid the staffs need to celebrate the day with their own families. Furthermore, since I mostly stayed in either village chief or forest managing group leader's house, it might create the impression that I was not approachable by the villagers. However, I also talked to random villagers when strolling around the village. I believed that if I stayed longer in the village, I might be able to spend more time and interact closely with ordinary villagers since I mostly interviewed key informants in managing groups, functional groups, village officials and to some extent rural elites. However, regardless shorter period in the field, I tried to manage my schedule efficiently in order to interview most of key informants in the village.

Besides the celebrating the Eid Mubarak day, the people in Guguk also held a traditional ceremony to commemorate the birthday of the clan on the following day of Eid. When I arrived in Guguk village, the Eid Mubarak day was approaching. It marked the end of fasting month and people were busy preparing the requirements for the unique ceremony. Thus, interviewing people during the celebration was not a viable option.

### **3.8 Trustworthiness of the Research**

I carried out observations and collected data from a broad range of activities such as observing activities by functional groups, demonstration of forest related activities by villagers like tapping rubber, harvesting honey, as well as communal work in the village (*gotong royong*). Thus, to maintain the trustworthiness of data, I also used data triangulation derived from interviews, literature review and observation in the field. I reflected on the data I obtained from literature review to the data from interviews and

field observation. I managed to contact some respondents to clarify some information through phone and emails.

Post fieldwork, I found some of field data were confirmed by previous research. But previous literature was also challenged by my data especially on the attitude towards migrant in both villages. In other cases, data from respondents mostly confirmed, matched, and also complement the data obtained from other respondents. During interviews about forest management, the people could not exclude aspect on customs, particularly in Guguk village. I therefore received so much information about the customs, norms, and beliefs. From this additional data, it has helped me to understand forest management in Guguk village which obviously was reflected through their distinct character and customs.

### **3.9 Reflections from the Field**

It was important to be reflexive. Bryman (2004, p. 543) describes reflexivity in the research process as follows:

“A term used in research methodology to refer to a reflectiveness among social researchers about the implications for knowledge of the social world they generate and their methods, values, biases, decisions and mere presence in the very situations they investigate.”

Prior to my visit to Guguk Village, I was informed by Warsi staff that the people still practiced strong social norms and fundamental Islamic teaching. At first, it could create biases on how I perceived the community. However, I was raised in multicultural environment and surrounded by Muslims society and friends and I do not think that this caused any obstacles for data collection.

Clearly some people were cautious that they were being studied through my presence or at normal conversation. As a result, they also did a background check on me by asking me questions. In a few instances, I found it crucial to let the people know that I was not affiliated with any projects or any donors as if I was involved it might influence my position as an academic. The people were keen to find out who I was. I behaved in polite manner by answering to those questions briefly. From what the people understand, a lot of timber tycoons were Chinese descents. Thus, being a

Chinese descent in the village, they assumed I had a rich businessman father.

Regardless that I am Indonesian, my affiliation to the University of Oslo made the people perceive me as a privileged person. I had to explain to them that my parents did not pay for my education abroad, but the fact that I was there because I received a scholarship. I was careful not to over-expose my own background and showed more interests to learn from their experience.

As I have stated earlier, staying at the managing group leader's house might have posed a limitation to interact with average villagers. However, when interacting with managing group members it was an advantage as the members of the managing group were often gathered in the leader's house to discuss about forest-related issues.

I did not consider the participation of Warsi's field staff during the interview as a limitation of the research. In fact, they were helping me to understand confusing terms in local *Melayu* Jambi language. In the beginning, I got the impression that Warsi's good reputation in the village might to a certain degree made the people less critical towards them. I thought my respondent would feel pressured when answering questions about Warsi. However, I noticed from the interview without Warsi staff's presence, the people still in general have a positive view towards Warsi. Additionally, the objectives of the research were not meant on studying Warsi but to see the inter-relations of various actors as a whole.

This was being my first time living with communities and doing fieldwork. I have been using literature studies and structured interview in my previous two theses. However, I had the chance to do semi-structured interview for this research which enabled me to explore more on the issues and enriched the description of data.

Unlike when I travel with Warsi staff, we usually used a motorbike. One respondent also lent me his motorbike for exploring the village myself accompanied by a little girl who showed me around. I felt more comfortable to explore with her because it was nice to observe myself without continuously being accompanied by Warsi staff. On one side, I thought I will be overpowered when interviewing people with an important position in the village, or male respondents. However, my flexibility as a researcher and as a person

had enabled me to adjust and adapt easily to the surrounding atmosphere. I was not intimidated when doing discussion with a group of male adults. With older respondents, I usually addressed them with the title '*Pak*', or '*Bapak*', meaning 'Sir'. This was necessary as addressing someone older with only their names is still considered inappropriate in Indonesian culture. When interviewing older respondent, I feel obligated to be slightly more formal however this was also done based on the nature of Indonesian culture in general which mainly paid a lot of respect towards the elders. On the other side, being a female researcher might have given advantage when interviewing women respondents. As women in the village interacted closely with other women, and strong social norms and religious background were to a certain extent limiting the interaction between women and men.

In most of the informal discussions, the men were smoking. I had to bear situation as I discussed about forest management or related activities with them. People from Sumatra were almost the opposite from people from Java. As I interacted a lot with Javanese, I was surprised when I came to Jambi. The people were more straightforward, possessed strong character and might appear a bit aggressive but it was just the people communicate in louder tone. Some said it was because of noises from intense water flow nearby their village that forced them to speak out loud.

I did not have many difficulties to adapt to the village life, as I used to live in a village until I was four years old and often revisit the village everytime I am back to my home town in Lampung province. My social background also helped me to interact easily with the people. In the field where rumours about REDD+ prevailed, sometimes I was in a situation where I felt I was being confronted to clarify issues about REDD+. For example, on one occasion, I found myself was overwhelmed by the people enthusiasm on REDD+. I had to make clarification to calm an angry crowd who complained of not receiving funding from REDD+ while claiming that other village already did.

I have no former knowledge about how the community manage the forest. Thus, after conducting this research, I have learned and reflect a lot from doing fieldwork and thanked my respondents who were willing to share their aspiration and knowledge to



me. I was captivated by the people's obedience towards *Adat* (custom) as a respect towards their ancestors. The customs were also proven to be more compassionate in creating a deterrent effect for the people who broke the customary rules by resolving the case within the community internal forum first. The people who were guilty for violating the rules were then being advised not to repeat the same mistake and did not have to go to jail as it would likely to happen if the case was handed over to police authority. Instead, the customs obligated the people to pay *adat* fine. However, interviewing customary leader was quite challenging as there were many tribal terms that I did not understand and further inquired my respondent to explain more about the meaning.

## Chapter 4 Results

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes data about the key findings on village forest and customary forest, as well as their management traits and challenges. I obtained the data from the field work conducted in two villages called Lubuk Beringin village in Muara Bungo district and Guguk village in Merangin district, Jambi province. Additionally, in the last section, I present a table comparison of village forest and customary forest so that my readers could see how both schemes similar and also different to some extent. I The chapter describes data from Lubuk Beringin and then followed by data from Guguk village.

### 4.2 Village Forest

Village<sup>10</sup> forest is defined as State forest that could be managed by village institutions for the benefit of the village members. The establishment of village forest is based on the consideration of a just and sustainable forest management. This access is set forth in the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number: P.49/Menhut-II/2008, about Village forest, which was enacted on August 28, 2008. The two areas that could be designated as the working area for village forest are protected forest and production forest with no exploitation permits. Furthermore, the allocation of forest area should be decided based on the administrative area of the concerning village. The managing permit, if granted, is issued by the Minister of Forestry for the period of 35 years and could be extended. The village has to form a forest managing group with the task of implementing the short, medium, and long term management plans that have been

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<sup>10</sup> A Village (*desa*) is the lowest level government administrative structure, led by a democratically elected head (village chief or *kepala desa*) and appointed secretary (*sekretaris desa*). Both receive a nominal salary from the district government budget. The village head reports to the democratically elected district head (regent or *bupati*), but is directly supervised by a government-appointed subdistrict head (*camat*). The village has a village-level legislative body (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa* or BPD) that supervises the performance of the village head and staff.

agreed. With the development of village forest, villages are expected to be able to build native village income schemes for the welfare of the community.

The establishment of village forest area of work carried out by the Ministry of Forestry on the recommendation of the Regent/Mayor based on the proposal applied by the head of the village. Article 25 of the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number: P.49/Menhut-II/2008 indicates that the utilization of environmental service from the protection forest on article 23a could be undertaken within the forms of: Watershed management, eco-tourism, biodiversity conservation, environmental protection, and/or carbon sequestration and/or carbon sink. Thus, the village forest scheme may be considered as one of the efforts to reduce deforestation.

Furthermore, according to Riyanto (2008, p.8) the policy regarding the enactment of village forest at least has seven leading factors:

- ❖ The mechanism of the enactment is relatively fast, based on the recommendation of the Regent and proposed directly to Minister (without having to go through district regulation) as in the stipulation of customary law community
- ❖ The mechanism for supervision is apparent which is the village institution
- ❖ The amount of area is clear in accordance to the one that has already been proposed by the Regent
- ❖ Being designated to all the members of the village
- ❖ The Village forest accommodates the village members who are not part of the customary law community
- ❖ Village forest do not focus on customary law, so that the village was established and consisted of the trans-migrants as well as settlers who have become the villagers could manage the village forest

#### 4.2.1 Lubuk Beringin Village

Lubuk Beringin as the first village forest in Indonesia has become the pioneer for other villages who are willing to have the same scheme. *Lubuk Beringin*, with a total area of 2800 hectares (of which 84 percent is watershed protection forest), is one of the villages in Bathin III sub-district, Bungo district, Jambi province (Akiefnawati et al, 2010:p. 4). The village is inhabited by around 331 people (157 men and 174 women, in total of 89 households). All of the inhabitants are Muslims and came from Melayu Jambi ethnics and some from *Minangkabau* (mostly in West Sumatra) descent. The main source of income is rubber and occasionally durian and other fruits were harvested from the rubber agroforests that could also provide medicinal plants. According to Akiefnawati et al (2010), in 1997 Lubuk Beringin became part of the ICDP-TNKS (Integrated Conservation Development Program-*Taman Nasional Kerinci Seblat* or Kerinci Seblat National Park) which aimed to develop an agreement of village rules on environmental protection. The agreement included maintaining forest areas; not cultivating land with more than 80 degrees slope; and planting bamboo along the riverside to stop erosion and landslides (Akiefnawati, 2010, *ibid*).

The village forest of Lubuk Beringin is part of the buffer zone area adjacent to the national parks in Jambi called *Bukit Panjang Rantau Bayur* (in short *Bujang Raba*). The village has its certification since 2009 through the struggle of obtaining managing permit with intensive assistance from a local NGO, namely KKI Warsi (Indonesia Conservation Community-Warsi<sup>11</sup>). Eventually, after the back and forth process, they obtained the managing permit through the decision letter of the Ministry of Forestry number 109/Menhut-II/2009.

The village of Lubuk Beringin is still considered as an IDT (*Inpres Desa Tertinggal*) village. It indicates that the village is still poor and remotely located. The program of IDT was established in the 1994 by the government to alleviate poverty in the impoverished villages. Although *Inpres Desa Tertinggal* (IDT) has been translated into English as less-developed villages, but it actually means villages that are being

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<sup>11</sup> Warsi is a short form of *Warung Konservasi*. It amended its name into KKI-Warsi. In the past, the idea to form an NGO network was based on the talks on *warung* (kiosk).

marginalized. In the case of *Lubuk Beringin*, the distance from the district capital to the village is 65 kilometers, and 175 kilometers from the provincial capital.

The State Power Company (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara* or PLN) has not been able to deliver their service to the people in *Lubuk Beringin*. Therefore, the villagers have been trying to find other means to have electricity, such as through the dynamo connected to the watermills that regenerate electricity (*Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Kincir Air* or PLTKA). Afterward, the other village forests that were established two years later in 2011 (the village of Laman Panjang and Mengkuang Kecil) have been using the same scheme as in *Lubuk Beringin*.

In general, the level of economic prosperity in *Lubuk Beringin* is considered to have prosperous family status (*keluarga sejahtera*)<sup>12</sup>. For instance, the people under the pre-prosperous group are about 15 persons; the ones in the Prosperous group level 1 are ca. 68 households; Prosperous group level 2 is about 5 persons; and the Prosperous group level 3 is 1 person. The amount of houses was +/- 73 in total, mostly with the type of stilt houses (+/- 38 houses). Meanwhile, permanent houses were about +/- 16, and the rest are very basic stilt houses and semi-permanent.

Mostly people that I interviewed claimed that they heard about climate change and global warming but have not understood what it means, and only refer limited to shifts in growing season. The people told me a joke about the regent saying that He will prepare two trucks for transferring carbon from the forest. The people assured me that the Regent has really made that statement.

Lubuk Beringin landscape shows that the presence of forests and jungle rubber can mutually support biodiversity and create additional income from crops yielded in the mixed rubber garden system. Forests contribute to the survival of biodiversity in rubber mixed garden mainly as a source of germplasm for jungle rubber. Especially for

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<sup>12</sup> Family welfare status was registered from BKKBN's (National Registry and Family Planning Agency is a Non-Departmental Public Body) prosperous family program in Indonesia (pre-prosperous and first degree prosperous families were classified as poor families, families from the rest of the phases were classified as 'non poor' families).

people in Lubuk Beringin, conserving rubber jungle had the advantage of providing stable waterflow for irrigation fields and water wheel for generating electricity.

Village forest scheme provides additional income from collecting non-timber forest products and at the same time preserving the remaining forests. People were less worried if the government might give concessions to companies for oil palm or timber plantations because they have the license to manage the forest from the ministry.

People in Lubuk Beringin believed that managing permit from ministerial level has stronger legality compared to the one from district level.

Prior to the establishment of village forest, the people claimed that they have long protected the forests in their village through the village conservation agreement since 1999. “In the beginning we conserved the forest based on consensus, but after adopting the scheme, regulations about the forest are now included into formal village regulation (*Perdes*): when people cut down one tree, they should plant five more.”

They will also provide social sanctions that are locally enforced for noncompliance.

For example, “if someone violated the rules, and one day they will have a *kenduri* (feast or celebration for important events), the villagers will opt out from attending the event” (in a way being ostracized by the rest), according to my respondent. Social sanction thus, is considered effective to enforce regulation.

Since 1996, Lubuk Beringin has participated in various projects. Table 2 shows several lists of projects that have been participated by Lubuk Beringin:

Table 2. Projects Participated by Lubuk Beringin Village

<b>No.</b>	<b>Project Title</b>	<b>Time Frame</b>	<b>Funding Partner</b>
1	Integrated Conservation and Development Project-Kerinci Seblat National Park	1996 - 2002	World Bank, Global Environment Facility
2	TULSEA (Trees in Multi-use Landscapes in South East Asia)	May 2007 - April 2011	German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
3	Rewarding Upland poor for environmental services	July 2007 - June 2008	Ford Foundation
4	Environmental impact assessment of rubber agroforestry systems	June 2009 - May 2010	Standing Panel on Impact Assessment of the Consultative Group in International Agricultural Research (SPIA)
5	REDD-ALERT (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation through Alternative Land-uses in Rainforests of the Tropics)	May 2009 - April 2012	European Union
6	Eco-certified natural rubber from sustainable rubber agroforests in Sumatra, Indonesia	July 2009 - June 2010	Waseda-Bridgestone Initiative (Bridging Human Activities and Development of the Global Environment, Research, and Action Support Program), Japan
7	Power relations and REDD: unpacking 'carbon rights' and addressing the question of legality in Indonesia	October 2009 - November 2010	David and Lucille Packard Foundation (Partner: KKI Warsi)
8	Landscape Mosaics: Research on biodiversity conservation at landscape level	June 2007 - December 2010	Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation

Sources: ICRAF (2013)

#### **4.2.2 The Management of Lubuk Beringin Village Forest**

This section elaborates on the components of forest management in Lubuk Beringin. It describes about forest managing group in Lubuk Beringin and additional functional groups that have significance contribution to the scheme. Functional groups are several task-oriented groups that complement the main forest management as such saving and loan body, handicraft group, waterwheel group, youth peer group, etc. This section also depicts challenges from the scheme that have impacts to the management system.

#### **4.2.3 Lubuk Beringin Managing Group**

The forest managing group consists of managing group leader, secretary, vice-secretary, treasurer, several task oriented section such as the one that deals with security or monitoring of the forest, external relations and so on. The managing group named themselves “*Ndendang Hulu Sako Batang Buat*” (Guardian of Batang Buat River). The work of forest managing group was supervised by the village assembly (BPD). The managing group have to report to village assembly and involved the them when making decision regarding the forest because the village assembly was considered as the representative of the all the villagers. In the early implementation of village forest, the people have to form a group that will be in charge of forest management activities. These people are basically village inhabitants who were considered to have the capacity and potentials to hold the position. It could someone with knowledge about forest, people who initiate the adoption the scheme (pioneer or *pelopor*), former village officials or simply a charismatic person who was respected by the others.

The people in *Lubuk Beringin*, especially those in the managing group were quite sensitive concerning projects which were meant to provide benefits, including REDD+. This was caused by previous projects that have been conducted in Lubuk Beringin in that might provide them with cash. Nowadays, the members of managing already has external network that inform them about news regarding projects and REDD+. Later the managing group claimed that the government has not showed good intention to support the village forest scheme. The people stated that they have not received further funding to conduct forest management activities. Being faced with no



budget to implement the work plan, the managing group planned to return the managing permit if further support is not given. This could be a trigger for people to log the forest in the future to punish the government for neglecting them. It is my impression that the people do not think that Warsi have the funding to compensate their activity of protecting the forest, but they do think that way about ICRAF, and other international entities that have visited their village to do research.

#### **4.2.4 Functional Groups in Lubuk Beringin Village**

This section explains several functional groups in the village that were considered as supplements for the scheme. The functional groups are as follow:

##### **- *Koperasi wanita (Kopwan) Dahlia (Saving and loan organization)***

*Kopwan Dahlia* is the name of the saving and loan body (micro-credit agency) in Lubuk Beringin that is managed by the women in the village. Men were considered by most women as less economical to an extent of being spendthrift (*boros*). Women were considered to be more economical and wiser in managing money. Therefore, the men agreed that women should manage this group. The role of *Kopwan Dahlia* in Lubuk Beringin is highly important to regulate the cash flow for assisting the economy of people in Lubuk Beringin. According to one respondent, the fund dedicated for the construction of mosque was managed by this organization, including the village cash fund.

This group has operated since year 2000. The board members consisted of a leader (*ketua*), secretary, treasurer and two supervisors. The current members are 34 women. The members have to pay the main fee and the obligated fee. The main fee (*simpanan pokok*) is a one-time payment for joining the group, while the obligated fee (*simpanan wajib*) was paid every month. They meet monthly for discussing the work. According to my respondent, most of the women who are married became the members of this group.

The main fee (*simpanan pokok*) is Rp. 5000<sup>13</sup>, - and the obligated fee is Rp.1000,-. The leader of the group claimed that only married women were accepted to join the group.

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<sup>13</sup> 5000 Indonesian Rupiah equals to 0,5 USD or 3 NOK.

In average, people usually borrow money between 5 – 15 millions Rupiah, and lately people borrowed up to 20 millions.

People who took loans from this group mainly used the money for buying lands, building houses, and paying for children's education. The interests are being paid in the beginning to avoid credit stagnant. In the case of decreased rubber price, the credit repayment will be affected. Furthermore, 30% of the remaining fund (*siswa hasil usaha*) will be distributed to the members (each member will receive 15% share, and 15% be given to those who took a loan), and the board members receives another 15% of shares. At the end of 2010, there were around 144 people who took loan from this group.

#### **- *Julo-Julo* (*arisan* or rotating saving association)**

Julo-julo is the term used by the people when referring to a rotating saving and credit association. In other words, it is mostly known by larger Indonesian society as *arisan*. This activity is often being associated with women. However, in larger urban society, sometimes men also join this group. This is a group of people who were involved in the effort to collect money weekly or every month, and they will draw one recipient of the money gathered. Each member will eventually get their turn. This activity is considered as a way to invest and save money in the village to cover sudden large expenses.

#### **- Handicraft group**

This group was coordinated by one person who will manage the rest of the members of the group to make certain handicrafts for exhibition when they have visits from outside. The members were being assigned into sub-working groups (*kelompok kerja* or *pokja*). Besides making and using their own products, my respondent in this group claimed that they have not been able to market their product outside. The handicraft that the group made are: flowers made from colourful plastic bags and wickerworks (baskets, mattress, tissue case, etc.). The group mainly consists of women. However the neighbouring village called *Mengkuang Kecil* have a lot of colourful wickerwork, mostly small to large baskets hand-made by a man. When the village is about to

receive visits or benchmark study, the forest managing group will request this group to start making handicrafts.

### **- Micro Hydro Water Wheel (*Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Kincir Air*) and *Lubuk Larangan***

The waterwheel in Lubuk Beringin located in the river edge. The water wheel utilizes flowing water to turn a large wheel centered on a shaft that keeps the dynamo running to generate electricity. The group has one coordinator who is charge of water wheel maintaining tasks. The members of the group are ranging from 7-10 households. The water wheel only provide electricity to few households to maintain efficiency and also to reduce conflict of interests. It only operates at 4 a.m. during the fasting month until sun rise, and 6 p.m to 11 p.m at night. The members have to contribute to the operational fund for the waterwheel. People considered the water wheel as an alternative source of green energy because the State power company (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara*) has not expanded their service to Lubuk Beringin village.<sup>14</sup>

*Lubuk larangan* is an area in the edge of the river surrounded with fishing nets to conserve the fish stocks. The fish could only be taken during special events, such as big days during religious festival for Muslims like *Eid-ul Adha* (feast of the sacrifice). The people were allowed to take the fish from the conserved area by paying some money dedicated for the village cash fund.

### **- Friday Prayer Groups (*Wirid Yasinan*)**

In the early adoption of village forest, Warsi encouraged the women in the village to get together once in a week and involved in religious activity such as praying collectively. Subsequently, the gathering could be continued with '*Julo-julo*' (the rotating saving activity). The objective of this activity is to diversify the activity of women who were mostly monotonous. It is expected that this group could be a forum for friendship and also a religious support group for women. According to Chaniago (2008, p. 273), three different Friday Prayer groups existed within the village namely

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<sup>14</sup> In early 2013, I received news that state power company is expected to expand their service to Lubuk Beringin village by June 2013.

the prayer group of *Kopwan Dahlia*, village assembly, and the mosque teenagers. This group is exclusively dedicated for women. The prayers were arranged in houses of the villagers. Each house will have a turn to host the prayers. My male respondents were mostly reluctant to join the prayers because according to them it is only for women. Religious leader who are mostly men will be invited in the big days for Muslims to preach for this group. For men, the Friday prayers (*Shalat Jumat* or *Jumat'an*) were usually held in the mosque. Inside the mosque, places for praying between men and women were still strictly separated.

#### **- Youth Peer group**

Youth peer group is usually being delegated with the task to arrange sport activities and competition. Among these youth group, there are also mosque teenagers (*remaja masjid*) who usually participate in daily religious activity and also being mobilized in the case of big religious celebration and to assist at a wedding ceremony. The values of *gotong royong* (“joint bearing of burdens”, implemented in communal work) and *tolong menolong* (reciprocal assistance) in daily life are still relatively strong among the adults and youths in the village. It is important to be noted that the youth in the village were considered more openminded and inquisitive, fast learners. As a result, Warsi staffs have a positive attitude towards these youths. Warsi field staff ‘recruit’ the youths as their cadres to facilitate Warsi’s activities in the village.

#### **- Informal Group Discussion**

It is very common for most men in Lubuk Beringin to have discussion before sleeping hours. After working in the morning until mid-day to tap rubber, the people usually take a break in their houses, having lunch, watching TV, etc. After praying in the evening, some people usually watch TV with their family and neighbours. Some others were looking forward to joining the discussion session at night. They stayed in their front porch to interact with people who passed by their houses and they notify each other if there is a discussion on that night. The villagers called this occasion as ‘one bottled oil lamp’ discussion (*diskusi sebotol minyak*). The story behind this routine came from the habit to pull an all-nighter discussion accompanied by an oil lamp that

was used as a source of light during the discussion. They would carry on to discuss until the lamp ran out of oil that indicated the people should probably go to sleep.

From this discussion, people claimed to discover bright ideas. It is also considered as a forum for learning process. A few people claimed that the idea for initiating village forest was also come from this discussion. It usually took place in a particular house of people in the village such as the intellectuals (*cerdik pandai*) or religious scholars and leaders (*ulama*), or other persons who were well-respected in the village. Coffee, tea, cereal drinks, snacks and cookies were usually served by both host and the participants. During my visit, the discussion took place in the house of a religious figure in the village. Religious figure could be someone in the village who has undergone a pilgrimage trip to holy cities for Muslims (Mecca and Medina). This pilgrimage trip is a part of the obligations for Muslims and also the dreams of people who have not been able to do it. Given the expensive cost of this trip, not everyone in the village could afford to do such trip. Thus, people who have done the trip were often considered privileged and perceived differently by the others. They usually were expected to improve their good manner and deeds.

They can discuss about almost anything, depended on the topics that were being delivered to the forum. The participants are varied from those who come to seek for clarification over particular issues; those who like to listen and might not have opinions; those who did not talk at all because they did not understand or perhaps not too interested on the topic. Nevertheless, this has been considered as an important forum by most men in the village, but could also be considered as a waste of time by some others or to some women who think that it might affect their work in the morning. The limit was usually around 1 a.m, or until the topic has been deeply discussed and people received sufficient explanations or simply when most of the participants start yawning. The people said that yawning is contagious, so when one person starts to yawn, it might trigger other persons to yawn. After the majority of participants agreed to end the discussion for the night, they all went to their own home and sleep.

#### 4.2.5 Challenges of Implementation

It is interesting to note that contrary to popular belief, the areas of protected forest which were being designated as village forest working area, although have a stronger legality, was found to be less beneficial for the villagers. The management of village forest in Lubuk Beringin faced challenges due to the size of area that needs to be covered.

In the early implementation, many people did not understand about governmental regulation on village forest. There were infringements to the agreed rules by the villagers and also outsiders. The decision makers of regulations regarding the forest in the village stated that it is prohibited to open the land in the forest and that rubber plantation plot should not be expanded. However it was not easy to make each individual in the village to completely comprehend. Some wonder why they should not expand their current rubber garden and why they should plant other tree species within their rubber plot to qualify as rubber-agroforest garden (*kebun karet campur*) that has been socialized by World Agroforestry Centre. However, the rubber-agroforest method was developed as an alternative due to the reason that rubber price has been decreased significantly over the years. From the rubber agroforest, people were expected to benefit from the cultivation of additional crops in their plot such as cacao, cinnamons, etc. The latex from the rubber agroforest garden is expected to meet standard of eco-certified rubber. Nonetheless, the people said it was difficult to find the market for it. Rubber monoculture is still considered the best in maximizing the yield of latex from the tree.

The challenges in managing the forest mostly came from the limited budget to implement the work plan of the managing group. So far, they have been self-financing the patrol activities. They also stated about the failure to make a village regulation that obligate people to put their cattle (especially buffaloes) behind fences. They also have proposed this rule to be passed as a village regulation. However, after three times of proposing the regulation, it was rejected by the majority of the people. One of the reasons was the cost of making fences is still considered high. Consequently, the buffaloes have been disturbing the people's vegetable and fruit plots. The location of

the village forest which was around 7 km from the village made the patrol even more challenging as it could take a long time to reach the location.

### **4.3 Customary Forest**

According to the Indonesian Constitution No. 41/1999, Customary Forest (*hutan adat*) is a state-owned forest located in indigenous territories managed by the indigenous peoples or customary community. The government will only recognize customary communities as long as they exist and they could show the criteria that fit the characteristic of a customary law community (*masyarakat hukum adat*). Thus the stipulation of a customary community should be done prior to legalize the managing permit for a customary forest.

The Indonesian Constitution No. 41/1999 on Forestry, article 67 stated that as long as the customary law communities still exist in reality and its existence being acknowledged, they have the rights to:

- a. conduct the collection of forest products for their daily needs
- b. conduct forest management based on the applicable customary law and not contradict to the constitution
- c. get empowerment to improve their welfare

Moreover, section two of the constitution mentioned that the investigation to recognize, or stop recognizing ('erase') a customary community should be done by the district government. Also, since customary forest fell under the State forest status, the community only enjoy the right to manage and utilize the forest without having the legal ownership. The vague understanding of customary forest then added complication to the process of establishing a customary forest. Besides, the regulation on customary forest has so far been an ongoing-discussed-draft that is not yet to be adopted as binding legislation. It also has the tendency to negate the development of customary community over the years. If one day customary communities no longer show customary practices and characteristic; the managing rights of forest shall be returned to the government. Customary forests could be dedicated as a source of livelihoods for the community and for biodiversity and wildlife consevation.

Customary forest is located within the customary land of a particular community and is an integral part of their daily lives where people gather NTFPs<sup>15</sup>, seeking herbs and medicinal plants. In general, customary communities in Indonesia view that humans are part of the nature and they nurture each other to maintain the balance and harmony between the two. The view of customary community towards a customary forest are varied and strongly associated with the concept of local indigenous territories. The recognition of customary community in Indonesia is still very much problematic. However, when being called as *masyarakat adat* (customary community), it does not mean that they were not exposed to modern technology. To a certain extent, it means that they still practice traditional rules, customary sanctions, accompanied by social and religious norms that governed the daily life of the community.

#### **4.3.1 The Historical Background of Guguk Customary Community**

*Guguk* Village is among the twelve villages located in the sub-district of Renah Pembarap, Merangin district, Jambi. According to the Managing Group in *Guguk* village (2011), the region is about 63,000 hectares and inhabited by +/- 1.181 persons (296 households)<sup>16</sup>. They claimed to be the heir of the Mataram Java Kingdom and Minangkabau tribe. *Guguk* village could be reached with cars around 45 minutes from Bangko, the central governance of Merangin District. *Guguk* village comprised of 4 smaller hamlets.

*Guguk* indigenous community in Jambi province that is called as Marga Pembarap clan, proclaimed themselves as a customary community, supported by the existence of customary institution that still in function and control the inhabitants based on the custom or *adat*. *Guguk* community has three sub-clans namely *Mengkai*, *Senggrahan*, and *Melindan*. My respondents stated that *Guguk* village has always been the central administrative governance of the Marga Pembarap clan. Previous literature on *Guguk* indigenous community by Abubakar (2008) suggested that the word ‘*Guguk*’ is believed to be a corruption word from the original word ‘*gubuk*’ (hamlet). However, the field data showed that the word ‘*Guguk*’ has the meaning of ‘high’, while the Great

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<sup>15</sup> Non-Timber Forest Products in here are rattan, resin, bamboo, jernang (dragon’s blood), honey, and medicinal plants.

<sup>16</sup> *Guguk* Managing Group website, <http://www.hutanadatguguk.com>



Dictionary of Indonesian Language (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*) suggested that ‘Guguk’ means ‘small valley’ (*bukit kecil*) (KBBI, 2013).

The location of Guguk is relatively close to the main road and passed by the cross-provincial travellers, cars and trucks that travelled between cities in Sumatra. This has given a big contribution towards better roads construction and easier access to the district capital. Most of the people living in Guguk have a rubber plantation (*kebun karet*). It could be seen from the houses belongs to the people in Guguk which have been built permanently; the car, trucks or motorbikes that the people owned; numbers of people who had university degrees and higher education. Nowadays, girls are not married at young age anymore. They think about taking higher education as the result of the rise of awareness towards the importance of education, and also the increase of income from tapping rubber. Most of the Guguk villagers at least have 1 ha of individual rubber garden. The rubber garden that the people owned has been cultivated intensively so that there is no soil that has not been planted. In Guguk, only the *ulayat* land (communal land) in the forms of fruits garden and old shrubs, and the assigned customary forest area that are subjected to communal management. Nowadays, people are also taking stones and finding gold along the stream for additional income.

#### **4.3.2 The Story behind the Establishment of Guguk Customary Forest**

Little is written in detail about the story behind the initiative to claim the Tapanggang Valley as Guguk customary forest. Previous literature on Guguk Customary forest was limited to brief description that in past; the villagers were in conflict with Injapsin, Ltd. because the company did logging into their lands. The people at Guguk village claimed that they have practiced sustainable management of the forest according to traditional knowledge. Injapsin, Ltd. received its concessions during the Soeharto’s regime where the projection of deforestation was skyrocketing through the granting of large concessions to companies that paid little attention to the existence of forest dwellers.

Conflict prevailed when community's access to the forest was denied by the company's workers due to the ongoing work of Injapsin, Ltd.<sup>17</sup> According to the villagers, the company had conducted land clearing in some areas that actually belong to Guguk villagers. The people started to come and asked the elders (*ninik mamak*) inquiring for information about the peg<sup>18</sup> (*patok*), wondering about who put the pegs in their garden and old shrubs (*sesap*). The *Adat* elder at that time, the late Datuk Abubakar, would not hesitate to fight back for the sake of his community. The dispute between the people in Guguk village and the logging company PT Injapsin or Injapsin, Ltd. (who was believed to be a joint logging company of Indonesia-Japan-Singapore) almost broke out into an open conflict due to the action of field-loggers that threatened to kill the villagers who collected Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) near the forest. Deriving from this fact, KKI-Warsi, the local conservation NGO assisted Guguk village in the mediation process by the district government. Warsi also facilitated several communities in Jambi and other cities in Sumatra through advocacy to raise the awareness of forest conservation.

Finally, they decided to confront the company, and they showed the map from the Sultan of Jambi, and both map owned by the company and Guguk village were unsurprisingly not the same. The area of Guguk village that were cleared by the company was not inscribed on the company's map. Given this indication, later the company ended up releasing around 200 hectares of the production forests that have been cleared and had to pay the fine according to *adat* sanctions by handing over 1 buffalo, 100 tin of rice, and cooking spices (*selemak semanis*), along with money Rp. 30,000,000,- (equal to +/- 3150 USD in 2003), that were distributed to several affected villages (*Markeh, Guguk, Air Batu*). The money then was used for village development fund (*uang bina desa*).

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<sup>17</sup> PT (*Perseroan Terbatas*) Injapsin (Injapsin, Ltd.) was the logging company who was in conflict with Guguk village. The local said Injapsin is abbreviation from Indonesia-Japan-Singapore.

<sup>18</sup> Peg was nailed down on the soil as a demarcation area, and in the case of Guguk, it indirectly claimed the area as part of the company's logging concession.

Previously, in 1971 Indonesia adopted the Government Regulation No. 21/1970, which weakened *adat* rights further by stipulating that logging concessions would have precedence over *adat* rights when the two were in conflict. Article 6 states:

1. “The rights of the adat community and its members to harvest forest products ... shall be organized in such manner that they do not disturb forest production.
2. Implementation of the above provision is [delegated to the Company] which is to accomplish it through consensus with the Adat community, with supervision from Forestry Offices.
3. In the interest of public safety, *adat* rights to harvest forest products in a particular area shall be frozen while forest production activities are under way.”

The case of Guguk has shown that with hard work and determination, and with a lot of assistance and support from grassroots actors and NGOs, the tendency of community marginalization in the surrounding of the forest could be altered. The release of the production forest area to Guguk community was triggered by the fact that Injapsin, Ltd. lacked of bargaining power after being confronted with an older map owned by Guguk people that set the precedence over the land. Additionally, the forests areas have been severely degraded from logging activities and the company finally left the area for good in 2006. According to my respondent, the logs were taken first to Singapore to be exported. The former concession of Injapsin, Ltd. was also later become the area of Guguk customary forest, leaving the people degraded forests to be planted under the government’s reforestation program. Given the law that was not in favour of the people when disputes happened, the victory over Injapsin, Ltd. was the milestone of defending the customary rights for the Guguk community as very few communities won when being faced with big companies.

It is difficult to find information about Injapsin, Ltd. on the internet, only limited to the address and telephone number of its office in Jakarta. However, within the process, I

encountered some information that ultimately led to this logging company. Asmiran (2013) stated that:

“Founded in 1980, a company called Sumalindo Lestari Jaya<sup>19</sup>, Ltd. was formed through a merger of seven timber and logging companies: *PT Rimba Nusantara*, *PT Emporium Timber*, *PT Rimba Lapis Permai*, *PT Gonpu Indonesia Limited*, *PT Rimba Abadi*, *PT Madakarya Pacific Raya* dan *PT Rimba Mafin*. In 1990 and 1991, the company acquired 100% of the stock of two Riau companies: *PT Arjuna Perdana Mahkota Plywood*, a plywood manufacturer, and *PT Inti Prona*, a logging company. In 1995, PT Sumalindo Lestari, through *PT Arjuna Perdana Mahkota Plywood*, acquired 51 % of Injapsin, Ltd. company shares; a timber concessionaire that used to manage concession rights over 710,000 hectares of natural forest and 43,000 hectares of industrial plantation forest” (p. 104).

According to WALHI<sup>20</sup> (2010), Injapsin, Ltd. operated under the logging concession SK. HPH No. 107/Kpts-IV/88 within an area of 61.610 hectares; the permit was issued on February 29<sup>th</sup>, 1988 and valid until the same date in 2008. Throughout the concessions, the communities surrounded the forest were never involved or given any compensation.

One respondent narrated:

“In the early initiation of adopting the customary forest scheme, there were five original initiators. However, in the process we faced rejection from the villagers, because we were perceived by the people as pursuing our own personal goals by promoting the scheme. We as the early initiators of the customary forest did not lose hope and even more motivated to find supporters for this scheme.”

From the story, I could relate the process in convincing the villagers of Guguk to adopt the scheme is similar to a multilevel marketing system whereby the each of the five initiators had to find five other persons who will support the adoption of customary forest scheme, and each new cadre have to find another five persons. Thus the

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<sup>19</sup> This logging company faced law suit in 2010, convicted for harbouring 3000 illegal logs. Its President Commissioner in 2010 was the sister-in-law of President Yudhoyono.

<sup>20</sup> WALHI is the biggest environmental NGO in Indonesia. WALHI stands for *Wahana Lingkungan Hidup* Indonesia or Friends of the Earth Indonesia.

supporters of the scheme have multiplied and finally reach the majority consensus to adopt the scheme.

#### **4.3.3 The Management of Guguk Customary Forest**

Guguk customary forest obtained its managing permit over an area of 690 hectares in 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2003 through the decision letter from district level (Surat Keputusan Bupati Merangin No. 287/2003). Guguk Customary forest was mainly managed by the forest managing group in Guguk Village (*Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Adat* in Guguk Village). These people were appointed by the Village Assembly (*Badan Permusyawatan Desa*), and agreed by the Village Chief (*Kepala Desa*). The status of the forest managing group however is still under the village head, and they have to report their work to the village assembly and the village chief.

In the beginning, the initiators of Guguk customary forest faced challenges from the people due to several factors. First, between the years of 1997-2003, both illegal logging and legal logging still occurred in the forest. People still violated the rules in the early adoption of the scheme. Later, after the initiators made it to convince the people in agreeing to adopt the scheme and finally received the managing permit, the villagers were still dissatisfied about the work of managing group that was considered as lacking of transparency due to their limited capacity. The managing group held a meeting with the people and tried to explain that the forests were not dedicated for certain individuals only but for all the people in Guguk village. The people finally accepted the clarification and later Warsi also held a training workshop for the managing group to show them the basic administrative skill for the management.

The managing group led by a leader and its functionaries such as secretary, vice secretary, treasurer, and several section heads for external relations, seedlings, lodging, eco-tourism, security and monitoring, and research and development. They also have mosque teenager group to arrange sport activities.

#### **4.3.4 Guguk Managing Group**

Additionally in Guguk Village, due to the existing customary practices and custom-based leadership in the village, the members of the managing group were also chosen

by considering the origins of the members and by taking into account the representativeness of each sub-clan. To be elected as a managing group leader in Guguk, the candidate must belong to one of the sub-clans. There were three sub-clans in Guguk village namely *Mengkai*, *Melindan*, and *Senggrahan*.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the criteria as the managing group leader do not necessarily meet the formal requirements for being a leader, e.g education, experiences, and skills. However, since clan leadership is still very important in Guguk, the people carried on the practice. The forest managing group in Guguk focused more on developing the eco-tourism plan. They created a list of activities that were offered to the visitors such as visiting the customary forest, taking the wooden boat along the *Merangin* river, enjoying the durian during the harvest season, package for conducting research on the biodiversity, vegetation, and the culture.

Guguk village produced a large quantity of one of the most praised fruit commodities throughout Indonesia which is *Durian*. Some people could buy the fruits from the supermarket, but enjoying durian fruit which has just fallen from the tree was considered special for Indonesians. Some people from the city will usually go to villages to look for the opportunity to enjoy the falling durian (*durian jatuh*)<sup>22</sup>. During the harvest time, there were abundant amount of fruits and people could enjoy these fruits for up to four months. In Guguk village, it is estimated that they yield 80,000 whole fruits, equal to 160 tons (Guguk Forest Managing Group, 2013). Therefore, they have the idea to make a durian-eating tourism package in their management plan. With only 100,000 Rupiah (+/- 10 USD), visitors could eat durian as much as they can in the hut, and could take them home max. 10 pieces per person. In addition to that, people could also enjoy other fruit varieties such as *langsap* (*lansium domesticum*, or *duku*) and mangosteen. All these trees are located within walking distance from the people's houses which made an easier access during harvest time. Due to the close location of the forest from their houses, one respondent also stated that the sound of birds in the forest could be heard from the house.

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<sup>21</sup> The status of one's sub-clan was determined from the female bloodline (Matrilineal).

<sup>22</sup> The phrase is often associated with the times when people receive good fortunes, ... "*seperti mendapat durian jatuh*" (as when you get a falling durian).

The meeting to determine the use of the forest were done with the presence of the village chief, hamlet chief, 1 adat leader, and one moderator who might be a member of village assembly. They discussed and agreed on the how the timber extraction rules should be applied. The meeting usually begins by addressing several agenda or issues. The moderator will ask for opinions from the floor about certain issue, e.g maximum amount of logs that could be taken in a year, the amount of money that needs to be paid when cutting the trees. After the meeting was considered to have covered the general aspects of the agenda, the meeting could be adjourned. However, women were not spotted during the meeting. The rest of the villagers who were not involved in the decision making process will be notified about the decisions through the hamlet chiefs. However, they did not make inputs or influenced the process, and once the regulation is adopted, it should be applied to everyone in the village. In other words, the process was found to be less democratic and only involved some people.

They mentioned about various visitors such researchers, foreign NGOs, who had visited *Guguk* Village but have not offered mutual benefit. They were fed up from the visits because they started to feel as an object and never received feedback from the visitors. To them the fame of their customary forest did not make them proud if they could not learn anything from the visits. According to one respondent in the managing group, “*they just visit the Adat forest and then they left.*” (Confidentiality maintained, Interview, 4 August 2012).

#### **4.3.5 Functional Groups in Guguk Village**

The functional groups in Guguk were less segregated. Instead, they tend to be coordinated by an umbrella association that deals with several activities in the village. The association is known as ‘*Majelis Ta’alim*’. Their tasks include coordinating the activity of the family welfare association (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK), committee for ‘Eating heart’ ceremony, Friday prayer group (*yasinan*), rotating credit association, social activities (visiting villagers who happened to be sick or deceased and pray for them), communal work in the village, promoting family planning program, *karang taruna* (youth group), and managing a saving and loan group.

One respondent also explained about four working groups formed by the village assembly. The first one in charge of activities during the big days for Muslims, the second working group in charge of handicrafts, the third one in charge of household food industry, and the last one in charge of the self-supported health service in the village (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu* or *Posyandu*) that give vaccinations for children.

However, the location of the upper Guguk resident and lower Guguk residents to a certain extent affect how they perceived each other. Although some claimed that people in Guguk mainly have the same economy, one respondent stated that the saving and loan group in the village was dominated by women from Simpang Guguk (upper Guguk area that is closer to the main road). Also, more permanent houses were spotted in Simpang Guguk. Meanwhile, a respondent from *Majelis Ta'alim* stated within the activity of saving and loan group, they tried to reach both people from *Simpang* Guguk and *Dusun* Guguk. The youth peer group involved in the sport activities or competition that are held in the village or between villages. One respondent said that members of youth peer group were started to be involved and recruited in the activity of patrol and forest monitoring.

#### **4.3.6 Customary Practices and Sanctions as the Virtue for Forest Management and the Daily Lives of Guguk Community**

Most respondents in Guguk agreed that customary practices and rules were important, highly respected, and still being exercised in the village. The customary rules (*peraturan adat*) governed the daily life of the people and inspired the forest management. It controls how the people should behave in public, teaches them not to be arrogant towards each other, direct the procession of gathering forum for the youths, engagement, wedding, and determine the area in the river for bathing with strict separation for opposite sex. People still very much respect the customary leader's guidance to resolve these issues. Strong social norms and religious beliefs were applied in the village whereby the people were not allowed to play card games, especially dominoes. It is also restricted by customary rule to divorce husbands or wives, and people were fairly reluctant to do polygamy even though it was allowed in Islam. Myths and stories told by ancestors were widely known by older respondents.



Announcements in the village were done by hitting a giant gong with wooden rod as how it was in the past regardless that village already had a handheld loudspeaker. Furthermore, the people were somehow caught between maintaining spiritual practices before entering the customary forest (e.g by burning incense) and avoiding taboos in Islamic teaching for worshipping other things beside Allah. The people claimed that it was only for giving a sign to do activity in the forest, in a way for asking permission and protection throughout the activity in the forest. However, most people still believe on myths and demonic possession. The village has a hamlet shaman (*dukun kampung*) who performs exorcism in case things like this happen.

The virtue that was understood and being told from generation to generation was the notion of Equality that was translated into these wise proverbs:

*“Hati Gajah sama di lapah, hati tungau sama dicicip”*, which analogizing “the heart in the size of an elephant should be distributed equally, even the heart in the size of a mite, should also be distributed equally, meaning that no matter how big or small the fortune earned, it should always be enjoyed together.

*“Telungkup sama-sama makan tanah, telentang sama-sama minum air”* (laying on your front, together we eat soil; laying on your back, together we drink water), which means that burdens should always be shared and faced together no matter what.

During the “eating heart” ceremony, the people in Guguk have to buy buffalo for about Rp. 11,000,000,- (1100 USD, equal to 6556 NOK). The ceremony is held on the second day of Eid Mubarak<sup>23</sup>. During this ceremony, no one was allowed to go out from the village. The people who left the village have to retreat to the village to join the ceremony on this day. Other activities were strictly prohibited and people have to focus on the ceremony. It is also common for Muslims to return to their home town to celebrate Eid Mubarak with family. The procession of the ceremony involved the *adat* elders (*Ninik mamak*), the intellectuals (or *cerdik pandai*, nowadays could be considered as people with higher education who hold a degree or simply people with

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<sup>23</sup> Celebration day after Ramadhan month (fasting month).

professional jobs in the city, they share their work experience and knowledge to other villagers), and Muslim scholars (*ulama*). In the commemoration of Eating heart ceremony (*upacara makan jantung*), the *adat* leader usually read the *Lantak Sepadan* charter from the Jambi Sultanate, along with the advice from the *adat* leader to cultivate paddy synchronously. Some respondents mentioned about the customary heirloom in the forms of swords, ancient plates, spear, *keris* (asymmetrical dagger), letter in a bamboo that could be inherited within one sub-clan. The ancestor of *Mengkai* sub-clan is claimed as the oldest ancestor of Marga Pembarap clan.

The eating heart ceremony was still very important for the people in Guguk because it was the time when all the people could meet and exchange greetings after the Ramadhan month ended. They forgive each other's mistake, and celebrate the anniversary of Marga Pembarap (the clan in Guguk). Above all, the ceremony has a deeper value and meaning that was attached to it that might not well-known by younger generation. The buffalo that has been purchased for the ceremony was slaughtered (*bantai adat*) by the appointed butcher who was acknowledged by the *adat* leader. The bigger part of the buffalo which is the meat should be distributed to the households in the village, and the smaller part of the buffalo which is the heart has to be cooked and each person should receive a piece of it. This symbolized that either big or small fortunes should be shared together by the people, as well as problems should be solved together within the *adat* rules.

According to one respondent in Guguk, a ritual needs to be performed to find out whether it is a 'good' day to go inside the forest. Rituals of cooking white porridge and distribute them to children have to be done before climbing *Sialang* tree to take the honey comb, otherwise something bad could happen. One of my respondent explained that the industrial honey taste different from the pure forest honey. The trees in Guguk, especially *durian* tree should not be climbed or hit by stones. A person could own a fruit tree, but the fruits could be taken by the rest of the people. However, they should not take the fruit when the owner of the tree was present. The people comply with *adat* rules due to the long history of the practices, and for fearing the bad karma if they violate the rule. Consequently they will be fined according to *Adat*.

According to respondents in managing group, since the stipulation of customary forest scheme, they have not taken any single tree in the forest for personal use, except for building huts in the forest to assist the forest patrol activity. However, rules on cutting down the trees for making houses and public facilities such as village hall and mosque have been discussed. In order to be granted permit to cut down trees to build houses, the villager have to apply through the sub-clan leader, the leader will notify the forest managing group, and the managing group should also inform the village chief. If granted, the person will receive a letter from the managing group. Together with the person who applied, the managing group team will go to the forest to monitor which tree that could be taken. If rejected due to over quota for instance, the people should queue for their turn. Every year, only around 30 meter cubic of logs that could be taken, in which the area should be 50 meters away from the river. The log that could be taken should have diameter of 240 cm. For each tree that was cut, 5 more trees should be planted. They also have to pay a fee (*bunga kayu*) of 25 % from the price of the logs. The logs then should never be utilized for commercial purposes.

One of the regulations and *adat* sanctions applied by the *Guguk* villagers are as follow: to those who cutting down the trees to open the land for plantation will be fined according to the adat sanctions to hand over 1 buffalo, 100 *gantang* (tin) of rice (1 *gantang* equals to 3.6 kilos), and 100 of whole coconuts, or paying three million rupiah (+/- USD 300). There is also a fine of 1 goat and 20 tins of rice for *Guguk* villagers or outsiders who steal fruits by stoning or cutting down the trees. All those sanctions are also applied for extracting fish in the area of customary forest in *Guguk* Village. The sanctions were started to be socialized as early as the issuance of the Regent certification at the customary stipulation ceremony on October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2003.

For example, if people were caught to cut the trees without permission, they will have to pay *adat* sanction in the form of 1 buffalo, 100 tins of rice, along with the cooking spices. The formal law court in Indonesia was considered unfair because the judge could be bribed, and the power of money could turn wrong into right, and right into wrong. It is not uncommon to hear people who stole chicken received years of confinement, while people who were involved in corruption flee from prosecution.

According to the *adat* leader, the *adat* law was exercised as an internal conflict resolution before the national law was used. It is also a method to protect the community from being imprisoned for small mistakes.<sup>24</sup> The important point of being fine according to *adat* was that the person who made mistake will be asked to sit together with the *adat* elders (*ninik mamak*) and will be advised not to repeat the same mistake, in a way that they will be lead to the right way.

Being called as a *masyarakat adat* (customary community) does not simply make the community to have a local wisdom for sustainable extraction method for forest products and fish stocks. However, the people have learned from past experiences that dynamite fishing, electro-fishing, and fishing with poisons will gradually reduce fish stocks in the river. Furthermore, they have realized by not harvesting fish every day allowed the fish to grow in size and amounts. Thus, they assigned an area for conserving the fish and only extract them in certain times. The people were sometimes still impressed how big the fish could grow when they waited to harvest them.

#### **4.3.7 Divisions within Guguk**

The people of Guguk village comprises of three major sub-clans: *Mengkai*, *Senggrahan*, and *Melindan*. However, in Guguk village there are also new settlers (*pendatang*), people who do not belong to any of these three sub-clans and decided to move and settle in Guguk village. The rights and responsibilities towards these new settlers were claimed to be the same as Marga Pembarap people (the umbrella title of Guguk indigenous community). Guguk village was delineated into upper *Guguk* (*Guguk atas* or *Simpang*) and lower *Guguk* (*Guguk bawah* or *Dusun*). This has created a clear divide that could be seen from the houses. People in upper *Guguk* have more permanent houses and glad to have closer access to the street, meanwhile people at lower area in Guguk claimed that they like to be close to the *Batang Merangin* river, according to one informant. The access path to *dusun* that could be reached by motorbike and on foot was rather narrow and poorly paved. Respondent from *dusun Guguk* also stated in the past, the support of seeds or rice for poor households from the

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<sup>24</sup> I did a research on a juvenile detention prison and corporal punishment was used to discipline the children.

government were not distributed equally to the people in lower part of Guguk village (*dusun* Guguk). “It would mostly go to the *Simpang* people” (people who live closer to the main street), one respondent stated. This has created jealousy (*kecemburuan sosial*) from the people in *dusun* Guguk towards the people in *Simpang*. However, the strong norms and conducts in Guguk have been so far allowing the people to resolve conflict and negotiate in good faith.

Economic discrepancy in Guguk was relatively low due to the fact that individuals at least have rubber garden (min. 1 ha). The neighbouring village called *Parit* and *Markeh* used to be part of Marga Pembarap clan and participated in the ceremony. Nowadays, it is not the case. People in Guguk claimed that the neighbouring village live from the income as loggers in the saw mills. They have logged their forests due to lack of livelihoods alternative.

In Guguk the people might face further challenge from maintaining strong customary leadership and at the same time village officials act as bureaucrats in the village might influence any decisions adopted by the community that should uphold the customs.

#### **4.3.8 Challenges of Implementation**

After the last assistance in Guguk village for cultivating jelutung tree (*Dyera costulata*) in the customary forest, Warsi has significantly reduced their assistance to Guguk managing group. Advocacy and presence of field staff in the village have been less frequent. The managing group in Guguk also suffered from limited funding to finance their operation. The fund for doing forest patrol was still considered very high. They have struggled to find funding ever since and had to collect voluntary contribution from the managing group members and the villagers. Women were mostly not present in meetings about forest management even though invited due to heavy workloads at home. Participation exclusion of women prevailed in Guguk village has hindered meaningful contribution of women to make inputs and influencing the decision making process for forest management. At the same time, the relatively frequent activity of taking stones by the people has invited people from outside to take stones with trucks that aggravate the pathways to reach lower Guguk area.

#### 4.4 Village Forest vs. Customary Forest

Table 3 shows how the village forest and customary forest are similar and different to some extent.

Table 3. Village Forest vs. Customary Forest

Indicators	Lubuk Beringin Village Forest ( <i>Hutan Desa</i> )	Guguk Customary Forest ( <i>Hutan Adat</i> )
Managing Permit	Decision Letter signed by Minister of Forestry: SK No. 109/ Menhut-II/ 2009	Decision Letter signed by Regent of Merangin District: SK No. 287/2003
Supporting Law Instrument	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number: P.49/Menhut-II/2008</li> <li>- Revised: P.14/Menhut-II/2010</li> <li>- Revised: P.53/Menhut/II/2011</li> </ul>	Forestry Law No. 41/1999
Managing Group	Village Forest Managing group ( <i>Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Desa</i> ): "Ndendang Sako Hulu Batang Buat"	Guguk Customary Forest Managing Group ( <i>Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Adat Guguk</i> )
Working area and Status of Forest	2,356 ha, Protection Forest	690 ha, partly former concessions of Injapsin, Ltd., partly customary land
Ethnicity	Melayu Jambi and Minangkabau	Marga Pembarap clan: Mengkai (descendant of Pagar Uyung), Senggrahan (descendant of Mataram Java kingdom), Melindan (descendant of Pagar Uyung)

Indicators	Lubuk Beringin Village Forest ( <i>Hutan Desa</i> )	Guguk Customary Forest ( <i>Hutan Adat</i> )
Functional Groups	Saving and loan body, rotating saving group (Julo-julo), <i>adat</i> institution, well-known informal discussion group, microhydro water wheel group, eco-tourism, youth-peer group, handicraft group, fish stock conservation ( <i>lubuk larangan</i> )	Saving and loan body, rotating saving group, adat court, <i>adat</i> leader, <i>adat</i> deliberation meeting, eco-tourism, youth peer group, mosque teenager, handicraft group, fish stock conservation
Attitudes towards transmigrant	ANTI, reluctant to hand over land to outsiders. Ownership of land has been revolved around first settlers	OPEN, but mainly to Muslims
Attitudes towards palm oil tree	ANTI due to fear of draining the water source	Some houses have palm trees in the front yard (473 ha of palm oil plantation existed in the subdistrict of Renah Pembarap)
Attitudes towards REDD+	REDD+ is not the goal, but also offer to nurse the tree in the forest, and expected to get paid	Not really focus on REDD+. Instead, focus on meeting the daily needs and invest in children's education
Opinions about the scheme	They are glad, the village became famous, expect more support from the government	Glad, became well-known by people from national and abroad, expect to get feedback from visits and research
Reason for Adopting the Scheme	Forest encroachment from outside	Conflict with Injapsin, Ltd. and ancestral claim over customary land
Regulations used in Forest Management	Village Regulations	<i>Adat</i> regulations, some were enacted into village regulations to strengthen the legality of <i>adat</i>

Indicators	Lubuk Beringin Village Forest ( <i>Hutan Desa</i> )	Guguk Customary Forest ( <i>Hutan Adat</i> )
Conflict resolution method	Managing Group investigates the case and report it to police authority	Meeting with <i>adat</i> elders ( <i>ninik mamak</i> ), hearing and imposing <i>adat</i> sanctions, perpetrator is given moral preach so that they will repent and not repeating the same mistake
Strengths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More experienced with projects (ICPD TNKS, RUPES, etc.)</li> <li>- Formal Village Institution</li> <li>- Averagely educated, passed secondary schools and a lot have university degree</li> <li>- Highly supportive to education for children</li> <li>- Well-established micro credit body</li> <li>- Clear-defined functional groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strong social norms, reduce the potential to open conflict</li> <li>- Traditional practices, values, norms to balance the government's control</li> <li>- Prioritize in education</li> <li>- Smaller working area, easily-monitored forest boundaries</li> <li>- More frequent extraction of NTFP (honey, rattan, manau, medicinal plant) and other income-generating activities: looking for fish, taking stones and gold from the river.</li> <li>- Location of village is closer to the forest to detect threat (chainsaw sound and loggers)</li> <li>- Guguk has the power to exclude outsiders from managing the forest resources due to their customary claim</li> </ul>



Indicators	Lubuk Beringin Village Forest ( <i>Hutan Desa</i> )	Guguk Customary Forest ( <i>Hutan Adat</i> )
Weaknesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lack of women participation in decision making regarding the forest</li> <li>- More politicized due to domination of village officials in the forest management</li> <li>- Lack of funding</li> <li>- Limited use of forest resources due to protected forest status.</li> <li>- Bigger area, more to handle</li> <li>- Location to the forest is quite far around 7 km</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lack of women participation in decision making regarding the forest</li> <li>- Strong social norms undermining women's interaction and participation</li> <li>- Lack of funding</li> <li>- Lack of formal regulation</li> <li>- Strong beliefs on myths that affects how people conduct activities in the forest, might appear superstitious for some people</li> <li>- The river is too wide for conserving fish stock</li> </ul>
Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Village administrative functionaries have been developed even though in a small unit</li> <li>- More developed village landscape and dam</li> <li>- Activities are organized in formal village administration, appear more democratic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rich in biodiversity and wildlife</li> <li>- Easier access for monitoring forest boundaries</li> <li>- <i>Adat</i> could be the basis to forest protection and compliance of rules</li> </ul>
Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Migrants</li> <li>- Oil palm expansion</li> <li>- The decrease of rubber price could be a threat and a temptation for forest encroachment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Dominant decision making process by the village elite and managing group</li> <li>- Division of hamlets in Guguk village: <i>Simpang Guguk</i> and <i>Dusun Guguk</i></li> </ul>

Source: Author's data and fieldwork, 2012

In summary, this chapter has presented the main findings obtained from the field. In the following chapter I analyze these findings in accordance with conceptual framework in chapter two.

## Chapter 5 Analysis

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and describes the actors at the village level. I classify the actors into three groups: Warsi, managing Group, and the Villagers. I then analyze the power relations between them using the Actor-Centered Power concept in chapter two.

### 5.2 Warsi

KKI-Warsi (*Komunitas Konservasi Indonesia-Warsi*) is a Jambi-based conservation NGO that has the objective to assist forest communities to obtain their rights through the forms of advocacy, capacity building, dissemination of information and skill such as for tree seedlings nursery. Warsi aims to achieve sustainable development that can accommodate human needs without threatening the future of the next generation, which draws upon the definition of Sustainable Development in Brundtland Report (1987). Through their motto of ‘conservation with community’ (*konservasi bersama masyarakat*); Warsi emphasized on the action to involve and interact closely with communities. Their mission is to revive the traditional conservation principles by the communities and to promote conservation management schemes particularly in Sumatra and in Indonesia as a whole.

Warsi has mainly gained appreciation and trust by the community over the years for their effort in community empowerment and conservation since the early 90’s. Warsi has the interests to promote conservation that involve the participation of community, and to a certain extent development. Warsi wishes to promote secure land tenure to ensure the community and the forest dependent people do not lose their rights.

Warsi is known in Jambi and elsewhere in Indonesia as a long-established NGO that promote community empowerment and conservation<sup>25</sup>. Warsi encourages various stakeholders in the country to pursue sustainable development policy and spatial planning based on low-carbon development. They have the vision for empowering

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<sup>25</sup> See KKI Warsi website for more details on the organization and their work, <http://www.warsi.or.id/>

community and favor or prioritize conservation over economic benefit. Warsi have become the partner of various donors and projects in Jambi. Their donors among others are Rainforest Foundation Norway, TFCA<sup>26</sup> Sumatra (Tropical Forest Conservation Action), CLUA<sup>27</sup> (Climate and Land Use Alliance), ICRAF (World Agroforestry Centre), etc. In 2005, Warsi was involved in the RUPES Bungo project (Rewarding for Upland Poor for Environmental Services) program in Lubuk Beringin. It is a joint-action-research initiative of ICRAF-Warsi-YGB (*Yayasan Gita Buana*, local NGO in Jambi) that aims to provide “reward” to farmers for managing their traditional rubber agroforests that support rich biodiversity and habitat conservation. RUPES was a program supported by the Ford Foundation and IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development).

The establishment of Warsi could be traced back from January 1992 where it was a network forum of 12 NGOs from four provinces in Sumatra (South Sumatra, West Sumatra, Bengkulu and Jambi), which focus is on biodiversity conservation and community development. However, since July 2002, Warsi has modified its name into KKI-Warsi (*Komunitas Konservasi Indonesia-Warsi*). The new name is aimed to create a clear justification of what WARSI has fought for, which is conservation. Warsi’s experiences in community-based forest management are in no doubt highly recognized and appreciated locally and nationally. Warsi’s work involved facilitating communities and villages in Jambi; and has expanded their work to West Sumatra, Bengkulu, Riau and South Sumatra. For Warsi, village forest and customary forest schemes could be a mechanism for conflict resolution that occurred in forestry sector. This is apparent through the case of Guguk Village, one of the assisted villages (*desa dampingan*) of Warsi. Guguk village was one of the several villages in Jambi that being dragged into conflict with companies. From this reality, Warsi struggled to assist

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<sup>26</sup> This program aims to improve forest management and protect biodiversity in Indonesia as part of the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership. The United States and Indonesian governments, Conservation International, and KEHATI (*Yayasan Keanekaragaman Hayati Indonesia*) created this \$30 million forest conservation grants program for Sumatra in late 2009 through a debt-for-nature swap.

<sup>27</sup> The Climate and Land Use Alliance is a collaborative initiative of the Climate Works Foundation, David and Lucile Packard Foundation, Ford Foundation, and Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation.

the people to gain recognition towards their lands in order to reduce land grabbing by companies (mostly by logging or palm oil companies).

The following figure shows the organizational structure of Warsi:

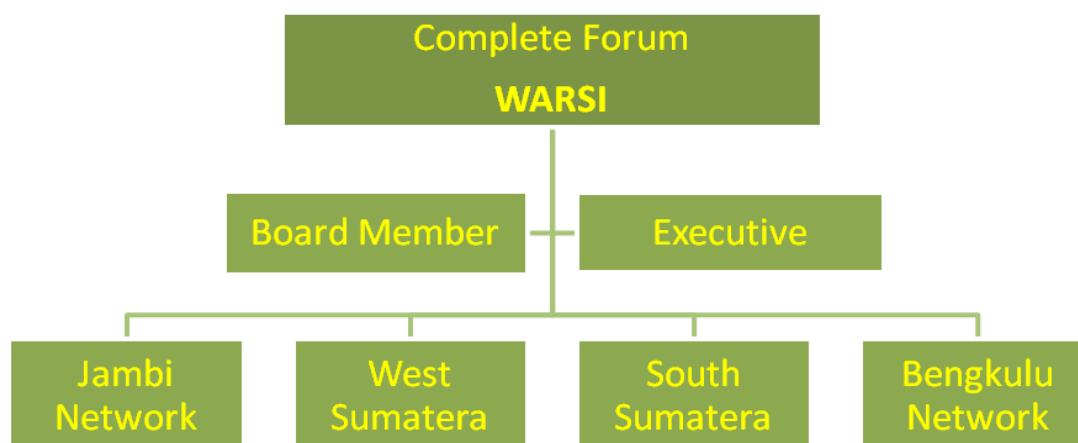


Figure 3. Organizational Chart of Warsi

Source: Warsi, 2012

Warsi started their work with the Guguk community in 1999 and the same year in Lubuk Beringin for the ICDP-TNKS (Integrated Conservation Development Project-Kerinci Seblat National Park) which was a project for development and conservation. Advocacy and seminars by Warsi have revolved around the way to manage the forest from the basic level e.g. to do a spending and income chart into further making a work plan for forest management such as ecotourism program. Warsi hopes that the villages they assisted will eventually become independent.

Through the VIA<sup>28</sup> (Asia/US Exchange programs), Warsi also accepted volunteers who are interested to learn about environment, NGO work with communities and also to teach English in Islamic boarding schools. Warsi's website displays about the organization and their program and projects since the time they were established. Their

<sup>28</sup> VIA (formerly Volunteers in Asia) is a private, non-profit, non-religious organization dedicated to increasing understanding between the United States and Asia through service and education. Volunteers work to improve the English skills of local NGO staff, design and implement community training modules, act as liaisons between staff and international funders, translate project reports, and conduct research.

publication *Alam Sumatra* is available online from the website in Indonesian language. Warsi also has a channel in YouTube that presented their documented work in community's advocacy and also their own conservation program.

As an NGO with almost two decades of experience in Jambi, Warsi has gained a well-known reputation within Jambi, throughout Indonesia, and even abroad. Warsi was in fact Rainforest Foundation of Norway's first partner in Indonesia. According to RFN, Warsi is good at lobbying and in cooperating. They have worked together as early as 1997. RFN is mainly supporting Warsi's advocacy to the indigenous *rimba* people (for their health and education). They also have conducted several consultations about REDD+ in Jambi's villages. Warsi has slowly become a prominent actor as shown by the fact that recently the head of Warsi signed the provincial strategy planning for REDD+ with the local government. Through the cooperation with RFN, Warsi expected that RFN could encourage European buyers of paper and oil palm products not to buy from Indonesian companies that do not respect the rights of indigenous people and forest dependent communities (RFN Report to NORAD, 2009).

Warsi has received positive feedbacks from the villages they decided to assist. For the people, Warsi is seen as pro-conservation and pro-community NGO. However, in a village where there are significant amount of people working as loggers or palm oil plantation workers, Warsi might not be accepted. To assist the communities, Warsi posted some of their staffs to the villages. The field staffs observe, advocate, held informal dialogue with the villagers, and also mobilize the people for activities e.g handicraft making, prepare them to build infrastructure for the ecotourism program. The academic backgrounds of its members are varied from agriculture, rural sociology, wildlife conservation, teacher's education, Islamic education, development and environment, law, etc.

Warsi has been promoting the customary forest scheme, village forest, and Nagari forest (similar to Village forest or *hutan desa* but the term is relevantly used in the Western Sumatra province). Although Warsi prioritized conservation as its main objective, Warsi could not neglect the development of the current climate regime which promotes the effort of reducing deforestation. According to the head of Warsi,

the scheme of village forest and customary forest that were being implemented in Lubuk Beringin and Guguk Village are among the adaptation and mitigation effort to reduce climate change.<sup>29</sup> Warsi stated that Stern visited Jambi in 2007 to see the implementation of rubber agroforest, and also because Jambi has four world-renown national parks, namely *Kerinci Seblat*, *Bukit Dua Belas*, *Bukit Tiga Puluh* and *Berbak* national parks that are adjacent to the proposed working area for village forest schemes. Thus, by introducing village forest scheme to Jambi, Warsi has also contributed to the effort of conserving the remaining forests in Jambi.

According to one respondent in Warsi, 80% of the staffs came from Padang ethnicity. As a result, the people communicate closely and it is easier for them to relate to issues on the ground due to strong ties in tradition and also religious background. Throughout their work, Warsi staffs have also attended a lot of workshops and seminars in Indonesia and abroad which is highly beneficial to improve their internal capacity. Subsequently, this could be reflected within their work in facilitating communities and communicating their stands and programs to the government and donors.

Warsi has shown that they acted in cautious manners towards REDD+. They recognized that REDD+ will govern the environmental policy in the near future, but still have doubts about whether it will benefit the people. Through Warsi's experience in advocating communities on conservation, they have conducted public consultations on REDD+ to gain aspirations and opinions from 114 villages, 35 sub-districts, and 15 districts in Riau Province, West Sumatra, Jambi, Bengkulu and South Sumatra. The activities involved from lobbying and advocacy to increase participation of communities surrounding the forest in making plans and strategy for REDD+. They also did lobby to the government to make them admit the rights and accommodate the benefit sharing for communities in the REDD+ scheme.

In my discussions with Warsi's staffs in both headquarter and in the village during fieldwork (2012), they mentioned that each person will not receive that much money according to the calculation from the Rapid Carbon Stock Appraisal (RaCSA)

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<sup>29</sup> Personal communication (June 2013).

conducted in Guguk and Lubuk Beringin. However, their publication in the website said the opposite. In 2009, ICRAF together with Warsi had conducted a Rapid Carbon Stock Assessment in Guguk forest. Based on the study, carbon reserves at the forest are estimated at 261.25 tons per hectare (Jakarta Post, 2009). "Guguk could reap an equivalent of Rp 19.8 billion at an exchange rate of Rp 11,000 to the dollar," according to the Head of Warsi. Additionally, Guguk village stands to earn US\$1.8 million annually just from selling carbon credits, with a ton of carbon trading for \$10 and the forest area spanning 690 hectares (Jakarta Post, 2009, *ibid*).

Thus, Warsi actually still have some doubts on the carbon trading scheme. Warsi appealed that if REDD+ is to be implemented it should involve community in a meaningful way, so that the community could have the ownership towards the project, and make sure that the benefit is distributed evenly to the people. In accordance to REDD+, Warsi has promoted several functional activities that they considered will increase the livelihood of the village. For example in both Lubuk Beringin and Guguk, they both have the same pattern for functional groups, such as saving and loan body, handicraft group, Friday Prayers group, youth peer group (mobilized for sport activities and eco-tourism coordinators), fish stock conservation, and so on.

From my fieldwork experience in several villages, Warsi has been proven cautious in delivering the understanding of REDD+ to the managing groups. They appealed to the people not to focus on the economic benefit (cash) from REDD+, and they should rather consider the immaterial benefit from the conservation effort and advocacies. These other benefits that Warsi suggested include improvement in community's capacity; the enjoyment of stable water supply for watermill and sanitary purposes; cleaner air; having a green landscape; and the rights to harvest non-timber forest products. Warsi claimed that they have not explicitly (*overt*) introduced the compensation mechanism from protecting the forest, let alone mentioning billions of dollars spent to support REDD+ scheme. I found this to be a bit bias since Warsi also received money to held public consultation on REDD+ but at the same time still withholding (*covert*) information to the people. However, as REDD+ emerged, the people became very sensitive to it, and perhaps Warsi took this step to calm the public

speculation. Subsequently, Warsi had the idea to repackage the compensation money as a “bonus reward”. Both the headquarter staffs and the field staffs stated the same thing, which was first said by the staff in headquarter and later was confirmed and reinstated by the staffs in villages. Under the “bonus” packaging, REDD+ money was perceived differently in villages. Although payment and bonus are more or less regarded by the people as material means; in the field this has created a different impact. The people who did not participate in loggings, at the end of the day will be rewarded an extra appreciation for their behavior. This probably could be understood easier from the analogy of a dedicated employee. Based on their performance in the company, a dedicated employee might receive bigger year-end bonus. In ‘bonus’ term developed by Warsi, the people perceived that they were being rewarded because they have contributed to the noble effort of forest protection for the sake of humanities and not because it was their rights. In the field, ‘payment’ (*bayaran*) is perceived by the people as a justification to make the people who give order to not cut down the trees become accountable to pay them as conservation effort has been carried out. In a way, Warsi is trying to prevent the people from behaving like a mercenary and focus on the money as a reward for forest conservation. At the same time, Warsi did not agree if REDD+ is considered as compassion money for the people as the commitment for forest conservation also comes from the locals’ initiatives.

Warsi always mentioned that village forest in Jambi were important because it was part of, and/or adjacent to four national parks in Jambi. In other words, it is quite practical for Warsi to promote the establishment of village forest to protect the remaining forests in Jambi. Warsi has faced difficulties in the ground regardless their effort to divert the people’s attention from the money that REDD+ will bring. It appeared that some people fear REDD+ project will come all of a sudden without prior consultation. Some thought project managers will come to their village with suitcase full of cash and the process will be simple. Thus, REDD+ implementation stages were still not understood by the people. However, Warsi expects that the benefit will reach the targeted communities, and that REDD+ might support their work in securing community’s access and rights towards forest. It is also in the interest of Warsi to use REDD+ to urge the Indonesian government to expedite the process of issuing the



permits for village forest. Warsi's contributions to the villages mainly focus on advocacy and empowerment through workshops and seminars that involving the forest managing group members and village officials. Warsi has limitations to bring the economic development that people expected for their village. Even so, they are committed to the work of strengthening the community through advocacy.

### **5.3 The Forest Managing Groups**

One of the requirements in the Ministerial Decree about village forest is the obligation to establish a forest managing group. The forest managing group at Lubuk Beringin is called *Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Desa* (Village Forest Managing Group), while the forest managing group in Guguk is called *Kelompok Pengelola Hutan Adat* (Customary Forest Managing Group). Both managing groups claimed that their members were selected through village deliberation meeting (*musyawarah*), attended by village assembly (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*), representatives from various social groups in the village such as the youth peer group, village elders, *adat* (customary) leaders, religious leaders, and representative from women. The status of forest managing group is still under the Village Chief and they have to notify, discuss and report to the village assembly throughout the decision making process regarding the forest.

The members of the forest managing group varied from people who have been the initiators of the scheme, people who were considered by others as having technical skills or knowledge about the forest, village elites (those who are relatively more well-off in the village), well respected community figures or people who are very focal in the village (*tokoh masyarakat*), and also former village officials (in the case of Lubuk Beringin).

According to the Ministerial Decree No. P.49/Menhut-II/2008 on village forest, the obligation of this managing group is to make and propose a work plan management for the next 35 years of and a more detailed work plan annually. In the Ministerial decree, it is also mentioned that the government should foster, control, and monitor the managing group. For this obligation, the government could seek help from NGOs. Thus, during the process of application and through the early implementation of the

scheme, Warsi in fact, has been assisting Lubuk Beringin to obtain the managing permit.

According to my respondent in the managing group of Lubuk Beringin, the government abandon them after the district have become famous from the existence of village forest. They claimed to be contacted by the government only if there will be a visit, or benchmark study from outside. Both managing groups of Lubuk Beringin and Guguk stated that the cost for doing forest patrol was very high, and they have to collect money voluntarily among the members and the villagers. They stated that they have not received further support from the government. Consequently, they were thinking to refuse visits and threaten to return the decision letter (*Surat Keputusan* or SK, in here means the managing permit), if the government still ignores them. It has been stated beforehand in the Ministerial Decree on Village forest article 47 that, “the financing for the management of village forest shall be charged to the village treasury (*kas desa*).” Apparently, the managing groups were not aware of this, or probably they knew but still expecting some assistance from the government after what they have done to protect and conserve the forest.

As the first village forest which was considered as a huge success in safeguarding the remaining forests in Jambi from being logged or converted to plantation, Lubuk Beringin has became the role model that other villages looked up to very much. Both Managing groups claimed that they have received visitors from local, national, and international. They mentioned more than 5 nationalities, such as British, French, Norwegian, American, Korean, Dutch, Australian, German, and so on. They were glad to receive so many visits and they learned from it as well. However, they complained that they have not received feedback after being studied by these people (especially in Guguk).

From the interview with the managing group of Lubuk Beringin, they talked a lot about the effort for improving the condition of the village. In fact, Lubuk Beringin was among those remote villages that still have not been reached by the service from the national power company (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara* or PLN). Lubuk Beringin thus has been dependent very much on the water wheel that they have in order to generate

limited amount of electricity for several households. The water wheel usually operates between 6 p.m to 11 p.m and 3 a.m until morning (during fasting month). The people asserted that they fed up of research conducted in their village and being offered projects that did not benefit the people, all they want was for their children to enjoy free education, health care, and for the people to be prosperous.

Meanwhile, the managing group in Guguk explained more on the content of the forest. They mentioned about the varieties of hardwood trees and fauna. Based on a study conducted by KKI Warsi Jambi, the forest in Guguk is home to 89 bird species, 37 of which are protected, including the helmeted hornbill and great Argus. It is also home to 22 mammal species, some of which are protected, including the Asian tapir and the sun bear, in addition to 84 tree species, such as the meranti, balam and marsawa, which can grow up to 55 centimeters in diameter (Jakarta Post, 2009). Not forget to mention about the visitors of their forest; one respondent mentioned about researchers from ICRAF (World Agroforestry Centre), World Bank, ZSL (Zoological Society of London which has an office close to Warsi's office in Jambi city), Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS), and many more.

According to Press Release by the British Embassy in Jakarta (2007), UK economic expert on Climate Change, Sir Nicholas Stern visited Indonesia from 23-26 March 2007. He met various relevant ministers and parliament members to discuss about the economic impacts on climate change as well as attending a public forum and youth workshop in Jakarta. From 24-25 March, Stern continued the trip by travelling to Jambi province to meet with local authorities and to visit several sites affected as the result of climate change. From the helicopter, Stern also saw the concessions area belonged to Sinarmas Forestry in Riau. Between this tight schedule, Stern was scheduled to visit Lubuk Beringin and Guguk Village, the two villages that were being discussed in this thesis. During my fieldwork, the managing group in Guguk did not mention so much about Stern.<sup>30</sup> He was supposed to visit Lubuk Beringin as well to see the rubber agroforest system that has been implemented by farmers with the

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<sup>30</sup> One of my key respondents who were not part of the Managing Group mentioned about when Stern came to Guguk.

intensive assistant from ICRAF. However, due to technical problem on the helicopter's machine that carried Stern and his team, the visit to Lubuk Beringin was unfortunately cancelled. The people were disappointed by that but then the Indonesian Minister of Forestry did come to Lubuk Beringin and his visit more or less cheered up the people.

Managing group in Guguk has developed their own website to promote their forest where people can find information about the establishment of Guguk customary forest and the structure of the managing group. It could be useful for people who are looking for early information about Guguk Village. In April 2012, a member of the managing group participated in a study tour to Meru Betiri National Park which is prepared to host REDD+ pilot projects. He asserted that the tree species and faunas in Guguk customary forest are intact and much more diverse compared to what he saw in the national park. Later He added, although the forest was located close to people's houses, the king of the *rimbo* (jungle) did not disturb them as they preserved his habitat. In here my respondent was referring to the Sumatran tiger that the people in Guguk considered more than just an ordinary animal, but as the spiritual guardian of the forest. In other places in Jambi, where the forests have been logged, it is quite common to hear about death due to tiger's attack.

Although Guguk village was already relatively famous, the managing group still asked to be promoted abroad. They have been struggling as well with financing the monthly patrol to the forest; therefore they expected to get more visitors for ecotourism as they wanted to share the beauty of their forest/ *rimbo adat* to the world and also to express their culture that teaches how they live in harmony with the nature.

In Lubuk Beringin, the managing group referred to conservation as the objective of their management style. They considered the effort of conserving the forest impacted the water flow in the river which was crucial to move the waterwheel. Even during the dry season, the watermills still operate because the conscience to protect the water catchment area has been proven to be fruitful.

They also wanted to create a green and sustainable village while expecting to be appreciated through the provision of better infrastructure in the village. Meanwhile in Guguk, the people wanted to promote the traditional practices in the forest which they called as Guguk wisdom. In a way, it is logical for the people in Lubuk Beringin to demand such improvement in infrastructure because in the past Lubuk Beringin was considered as impoverished village. From the absence of service of national power company, Lubuk Beringin has struggled hard to find an alternative method to gain electricity. Due to the feeling of being ignored by the local government, the current managing group in Lubuk Beringin planned to return the managing permit. According to one respondent, *“if the government doesn’t help us why don’t we cut down the trees, so that the people in the city will also experience severe flooding!”*

In summary, the managing groups have been striving to implement their work plans. However, they also struggled in financing the operation. Both managing group felt that they were being abandoned by the state and fed up of only being contacted if some people want to do study tour to Lubuk Beringin. They carried on to self-financing the activity of forest patrol and sometimes they also received help from ICRAF. They expected foreign donors to appreciate their efforts through projects or reward mechanism that could help the people achieve better livelihoods.

#### **5.4 The Villagers**

Villagers in Lubuk Beringin and Guguk were mainly gained income from tapping rubber. However, some also work as civil servants, teachers at local school, and employee at local government offices. The younger generation in average passed high school level, and some have university degree, and two persons in Lubuk Beringin went to graduate school. In Guguk, one respondent made a claim that all the residents were literate. People’s livelihood had been improved to intensification of rubber agroforest in Lubuk Beringin village. However, the people also expressed that they would likely face problems when rubber’s price decreased. The villagers hope the government could intervene or provide mechanism to stabilize the latex price experienced significant decrease. Villagers value the income to be mainly used for

daily needs, but especially to finance the education of their children. Many people in Lubuk Beringin borrowed money from the saving and loan body in the beginning of new semester at school. The people have considered higher education more than just a privilege, but they see it as an investment to the village. Because when they have obtained higher education, they could retreat and share the knowledge that they gained which will benefit the village in general.

People concentrated on their own work through tapping rubber, child rearing, and having some entertainment at home like watching TV in their own houses. Most of the people that I interviewed stated about their positive impression towards the forest scheme. Some said it will be for their next generation, some said it provides the present needs for water supply and fresh air. The people have high awareness towards protecting the forest; they fear the social exclusion and the *adat* sanctions.

Both villagers from Guguk and Lubuk Beringin claimed that beside they feel the environment is better with the stable water for irrigation and clean river, economic benefit is not present yet. They did not recognized technical terms that were often mentioned by the managing groups such as environmental services (*jasa lingkungan*), water catchment area (*daerah resapan air*), or even carbon. One respondent referred to carbon paper used in the past when being asked about carbon emission. Furthermore, only respondents from the Managing groups or village elites who have been recruited and trained by Warsi field staff that could address the immaterial benefit from the scheme which is improvement in capacities. Thus, the advocacy in the village has only reached the managing group and village elites.

From the data and observation I conducted in the two villages, I noticed that the women were still very much subjected to the domesticated role as housewives. It was considered as a full time job to take care of the household, from cooking, cleaning, child rearing, etc. However, the women played a unique role as a bank. The leader of the family, the husbands entrusted all matters about money to their wives because they trust that women were better manager of money. They were considered as economical, while according to most women respondents, men tend to be compulsive spenders. It is important to note that although the people use matrilineal succession and the women

usually inherit the rice field as they are the main cultivators; men have bigger power in decision making process. Therefore, women's participation most of the time limited to just being notified and sometimes consulted. The meetings to both informally or formally discussed about the management of the forest often held during evening until late nights. This has become a limitation for the women in general. They often reiterate that it was not that they do not want to come, but there are other social norms that are still being upheld. For instance, it is not preferable for women to be outside alone at night. It is also not preferable to be taken home by a man who was not their spouse on a motorbike (mostly because of the close distance between the rider and the passenger). Additionally, the absence of child care service while they left to attend a meeting was also become an obstacle. According to the men, it is undesirable if women came to the meeting while they were pregnant or still nursing the child. Various other reasons were mentioned and treated as justification of limited role of women in the decision-making process without further intention to change the trend. Women often find themselves to be quieter if they were in a discussion forum where mostly men were present. Unsurprisingly, they claimed that they will be more active and speak openly in a forum where the participants are all women. In other words, women were marginalized in discussions where the majority of the participants were men.

Furthermore, Guguk village in Merangin district has achieved CBFM award and national *Kalpataru* award for environmental heroes. This village was visited by Sir Nicholas Stern in March 2008. Among my respondents who are not part of the managing group, they have no ideas about REDD, be it as carbon trading scheme or as a reducing deforestation scheme. From the two villages that were being studied, the people have a limited understanding of climate change and global warming. They did not understand about the science of climate change, but refer to it as the shifts in seasonal harvest time, warmer temperature than before, river shallowing, and dry season period which affects their water well.

One respondent also said "*pernah dengar sajo, tapi tidak mengerti apo itu REDD+*", which means that he had heard about REDD+, but did not understand. Thus, majority

of the villagers were not aware of REDD+. The information about REDD+ only reached village elites, including the managing group. But even the managing groups in both villages have been more or less confused about REDD+.

Given relatively stable income from tapping rubber, the people do not rely on the extraction of Non-Timber Forest Product. I was asking people around if they collected resin for example, and most of them replied that they did not. They added in the case where they really needed additional income due to decreased rubber price, they might extract NTFPs more frequent. This was evident in Lubuk Beringin for one certain reason. The location of the village forest is around 7 km from the villagers' houses. The managing group themselves were facing challenges to reach the area, let alone the villagers.

In Guguk, some said that they extracted honey from the *Sialang* tree, or taking stones from the river as a side activity to increase their income if the sale from the rubber was not enough. By working early in the morning, the villagers could return home from their rubber garden before mid-day. Additionally, most of the households have their own individual rubber garden where they went to cut the skin of the tree and tap the latex in an area around minimum 1 hectare with around 300-500 trees on it. The people could decide to do it as early as 7 a.m. and be back before mid day. After tapping rubber, they can do leisure activity such as watching television. The people loved to watch TV, and the big satellite dish on their front yard makes the scenery of the village became so unique.<sup>31</sup>

The people tapped rubber 5 times in a week, with 2 days off. In Ramadhan month, when people have to fast, the activity of tapping rubber is reduced. They stayed at home, and focus more on religious-based activities. A few of the rubber farmer in Lubuk Beringin have participated in workshop about improving rubber quality held by Bridgestone as part of the company's CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility). The ones who attended the workshop then shared their experience with other villagers. The participants found out that the cleanliness of the rubber sap is also influencing the

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<sup>31</sup> I remember 20 years ago when my family was still using the satellite dish to receive TV signals.



price. Although rubber monoculture would likely to yield more latex in quantity, Lubuk Beringin has been focusing on rubber agroforest as an alternative when the rubber price is suddenly decrease they could still harvest other crops from their agroforest rubber garden.

From the interview with my respondents in Guguk and Lubuk Beringin, the people claimed that a lot of them had higher education level. They stated that they have plenty of undergraduates, and a few master graduates. The people's commitment on education is clear whereby the income of the household was dedicated for the school tuition fee and their daily needs. Non-formal education is also emphasized such as the after school Islamic study which is claimed to be important for most of the people as a foundation (especially in Guguk). One respondent asserted that Guguk was free from illiteracy. These people who studied higher education were expected to bring home the knowledge that they learned in the university and share them with the people to further develop the village. Most of my respondents who were parents in Guguk expected that their children would benefit in the future from the current forest conservation. They also feel obligated to leave something for the next generation. The people later admitted that they enjoyed the clean water supply for bathing, washing, and for the watermill, however, in terms of economic benefit they claimed there has been no changes whatsoever. One respondent stated that research and visits mostly paid attention on the forest and not on the human resources.

In Lubuk Beringin, the people often discussed on topic about village development due to electricity insufficiency where they have demanded for the National Power Company (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara or PLN*) to supply electricity to their village, but the demand has not being answered. They also expected support from the local government where they have already become disappointed because the aid never came.

As a mean of bonding and exchanging hospitality (*silaturahmi*), Guguk village has a tradition of celebrating the second day of Eid Mubarak there is one moment where the people in Guguk are blending nicely, which is during the "Eating Heart" ceremony. It is celebrated on the second day of *Eid Mubarak (lebaran)* where every member of the village has to gather in and stay inside the Guguk Village. The people who were

residing outside Guguk due to job or school usually return home on that day. The heart of the buffalo is cooked and distributed to the people so that each person could taste it. The ceremony symbolized that both benefits and burdens are shared by the people. This event has been the center of attention in Guguk to cherish their identity that will support their survival as a distinct customary community. The tradition then is important to be maintained as when they are no longer able to show their customary traits and practices, the rights to manage the forest shall return to the government.

In summary, both village forest and customary forest were seen as feasible solution because the people felt insecure over illegal logging activities by individuals or logging and palm oil companies. The people did not understand that if they logged the forest, they will indirectly increase carbon in the atmosphere. However what they believe is that if the forest is logged, they will be submerged by the water from the river. It will ruin their fruit and rubber gardens, and other disadvantage as a cause of forest destruction such as tiger's attack. Also, prior being enacted as village forest, it is illegal to go inside the protected forest even just to take the non-timber forest product. After they received the management license, it is no longer illegal to extract NTFPs in the protected forest. They were allowed to do that after asking permission to village head and the managing group. Also, the term of Local Wisdom (*kearifan lokal*) in managing the forest was seldom heard from the people, and only limited to people at the managing group. Instead, the villagers referred to the traditional practices in managing the forest as a legacy from their ancestors. Most of the time, forest-related matters were delegated by the villagers to the managing group. The rest of the people were involved in non-forest related activities, such as participating in saving and loan body, arranging women to make handicrafts and Friday prayers for women, and helping to organize a wedding event.

Both Lubuk Beringin and Guguk have village regulations. However, customary rules were still being imposed strongly in Guguk. Lubuk Beringin on the other side, still mentioned about a certain extent of customary rules, but mostly recognized the formal village regulations. In Guguk, people were very much bound and comply with tradition (rules and sanctions). The focus of the people was to practice the *adat* itself,

to avoid the *don't's* and following the *do's*. They indicated that this will create a balance between their relation with other human beings, with God and with the nature. Respects towards ancestors were realized with the rituals of visiting ancestor's graves to thank them for inheriting the land. The law governed most aspects of life in the village, from social relations, ownership of trees and fruits, and also practices regarding the forest and river. People in Guguk have been conscious regarding forest protection and its rules, however from the data obtained through interview, the customary rule that mostly breached by the people was the rule for the courtesy when visiting a maiden's house. The young men were not supposed to visit a girl's house when the mother of the girl was not present.

It seems that customary rules to a certain extent were being connected to the spiritual beliefs on the forest. Some people still depend on the 'so-called inherited spiritual power' to forecast the signs of danger based on premonition. According to several respondents, the ancestor's graves will start to shake and rumble as a sign for upcoming difficulties and conflicts. Rituals sometimes have to be done by a person claiming to have spiritual connection with the forest to determine whether it is a good time to visit the forest. The customary rule was also applied to the customary ceremony of "eating heart". The customary leader will delivered the speech about wisdoms and advices to the people and give instruction for the people to cultivate the wet rice plantation synchronously.

## **5.5 Power Relations between the Actors**

After identifying the main actors in village forest and customary forest schemes, which are Warsi, Managing Groups, and villagers; I present the actors two-ways relations in figure 4. I analyze the relations of the actors using the Actor-Centered Power concept presented in Chapter 2. The three power elements of Trust, Incentives, and Coercion are vested and relevant in the relations between the three actors which later presented in table matrices. In the following I analyze power relations in Lubuk Beringin and then in Guguk.

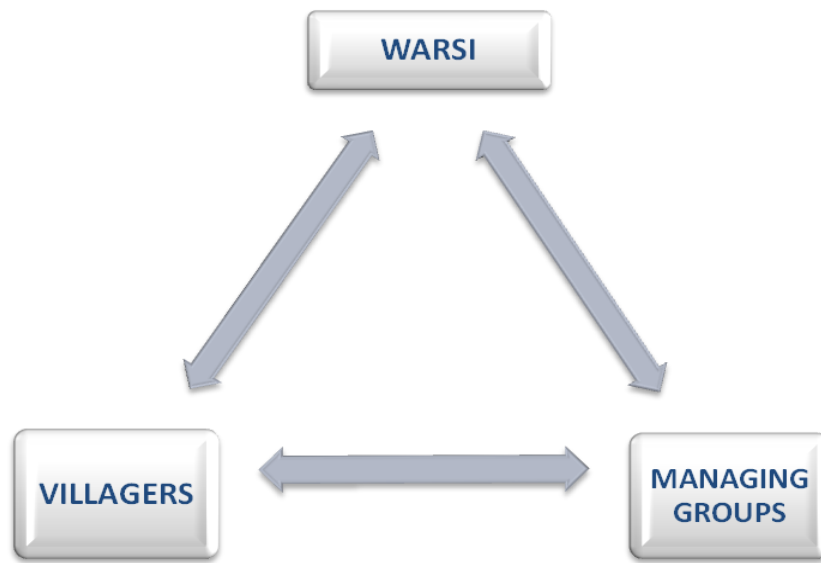


Figure 4. Power Relations between the Actors

### 5.5.1 Power Relations of Warsi and the other Actors in Lubuk Beringin

Table 4 shows the relations between Warsi and the other two actors in the village, namely Managing Group and the Villagers. I explain the power relations among them in the following paragraph.

Table 4. Warsi Relations in Lubuk Beringin Village

	Trust	Incentives	Coercion
with Managing Group	—	✓	✓
with Villagers	—	✓	✓

#### ➤ Warsi and Managing Group (*incentives, coercion*)

The relations of Warsi towards the managing group are mainly based on incentives and coercion. Warsi has been in Lubuk Beringin for more than a decade through Warsi's participation in various projects in the village prior to the establishment of forest managing group. In 2008, Warsi communicated to the village officials about the

chance to apply for managing permit of forest in their area. Warsi approached the key actors in the village in order to gain consent from the majority of villagers that this scheme could secure their access and rights towards the forest, and the people might benefit from it in the long run through various development initiatives.

By using the Ministerial Decree about Village Forest No. P. 49/Menhut-II/2008, Warsi then socialized the regulation to the managing group, stating that from the adoption of the scheme, people would have legal rights (with the present of managing license as a legal document) to benefit from environmental services, watershed services, the extraction of Non-Timber Forest Product in the protected forest, and also the possibility for carbon trade.

After Warsi made it to get the majority consensus through the village deliberation meeting, Warsi facilitated the procedures to apply for village forest scheme started from the requirements in the district level through the central government. Warsi helped the key actors to make administrative documents, participatory mapping, setting forest boundaries and forest inventory. The managing permit was granted by the Ministry of Forestry in 2009. Warsi also conducted advocacy through involving the managing group members in various workshops, and benchmark study in other villages. Warsi thus has improved the capacity of managing group through their assistance in encouraging the managing group to join such activities. For instance, Warsi also conducted workshop on tree seedlings in Lubuk Beringin as a part of the TFCA (Tropical Forest Conservation Action) project, apart from workshop on community-based forest management.

Warsi often brought visitors to Lubuk Beringin and introduce them to the managing group. The managing group admitted through workshop and benchmark study held in either Lubuk Beringin or other village, their capacities had increased. When Warsi brought visitors or their partners to visit Lubuk Beringin, the managing group would be less likely to refuse because Warsi has been assisting them through the process of obtaining the forest managing permit and exposed them to different actors from various benchmark study and advocacy. Yet, the managing group still question the real

benefit from visits. In the case when they got tired of visits, they would usually still accept them. Warsi emphasized that the benefit from scheme adoption should not be measured by material, but the managing group should also admitted the improvement of capacity and the stable water flow as a part of the benefits from the scheme. Warsi's persistence on this has been effective divert the likelihood of the managing group to restrain their excessive interests on REDD+. Warsi tried to repackage the compensation money as a bonus rather than payment.

➤ **Warsi and Villagers (*incentives, coercion*)**

Warsi relations towards villagers are mainly based on incentives and coercion. As stated earlier, Warsi has been in Lubuk Beringin for a long time. Through the program of advocacy, Warsi field staff has been staying in the village to give advocacy about forest conservation to the villagers. People were introduced to the idea to have a permit to take the non-timber forest products legally in the protected forest area. In the early implementation of the scheme, Warsi field staff supervised the activity of the functional groups in Lubuk Beringin such as the handicraft group by bringing samples of handicraft to the group. Warsi staff also encouraged the youth peer group to coordinate the activity for or eco-tourism. Warsi gave their cadres a T-shirt merchandise as an appreciation for their participation in workshops held by Warsi. The earlier poor condition made the people in Lubuk Beringin consider village forest scheme as an opportunity to increase their livelihoods and development in the village as previously Lubuk Beringin has not enjoy the power service from the state. From adopting the scheme, Warsi together with ICRAF, helped the villagers to build the infrastructure for micro-hydro water wheel in the village to generate electricity.

In the past, people in Lubuk Beringin also involved in logging activities. Further, Warsi tried to “educate” the people not to open new land in the protected forest, not to expand the existing rubber plot, and focus on livelihoods alternative such as intensifying the potential for rubber agroforest. Warsi claimed that from their advocacies, they have raised the awareness of people to adopt a more sustainable practice on the environment and have somehow created a change of paradigm. Besides,

the villagers were also introduced to government regulations that would put them into court trial if they try to violate the regulation in the protected forest.

### 5.5.2 Power Relations of Managing Group and the other Actors in Lubuk Beringin

Table 5 shows the relations between Managing group and the other two actors in the village, namely Warsi and the Villagers. I explain the power relations among them in the following paragraph.

Table 5. Managing Group Relations in Lubuk Beringin Village

	Trust	Incentives	Coercion
with Warsi	✓	—	—
with Villagers	—	✓	✓

#### ➤ Managing Group and Warsi (*trust*)

The managing group relations towards Warsi are mainly based on trust. Managing group generally appreciates the assistance of Warsi in the past within the early process to applying for village forest managing permit. They trusted Warsi as they had interacted with them since 1999. Furthermore, throughout the years of implementing various projects in Lubuk Beringin, the Managing group in Lubuk Beringin has improved their capacity and access which enable them to build strong relation with outside network where they received information and updates on forestry policy, and sometimes about REDD+. With the willingness to be self-empowered and independent, the managing group no longer relies on Warsi as a single source of information.

Within the implementation of village forest working plan, the managing group faced many challenges from the lack of funding and the incentives to enforce the obligation entails from the scheme. In the village, managing group members faced challenges on financing the routine forest patrol. They also have participated in the public consultation on REDD+, and Rapid Carbon Stock Appraisal (RaCSA) that were done

by ICRAF together with Warsi. This has made the managing group raised their expectations to get payment and they became quite sensitive on REDD+ issues. Being faced with the possibility for carbon projects, the managing group was disappointed after a while they because it was an empty promise that have created false hope as they thought it would be easy to get the benefit fast. They then threatened to return the managing permit, and might have to return to logging activities if the government keeps neglecting them.

For a moment, it is in my impression that the managing group blamed Warsi for convincing them to adopt the scheme in the first place. They questioned Warsi field staff about the concrete benefit from the scheme. It is evident that the managing group was not aware that according to the regulation on village forest, the cost of management shall be charged to the village fund. Warsi field staff however, was not able to give clarification on REDD+, and I was forced to say something to calm their wrath. Later I realized that the managing group was disappointed with the local government because Lubuk Beringn has not received further support.

➤ **Managing Group and Villagers (*incentives, coercion*)**

The managing group relations towards the villagers are mainly based on incentives and coercion. Managing group gave incentives to the people through benchmark study in the village, and promoting eco-tourism activity where the people could participate. As the group was trusted for handling the issue on forest, the managing group members have crucial roles in determining regulations on forest together with the village assembly.

Before the adoption of the scheme, illegal loggings were frequent in the protected forest area by the villagers and by outsiders. The managing group used the formal law instruments to make the people obey to conserve the forest. They set the rules for extracting non-timber forest product and the villagers were supposed to ask for permission beforehand. This is included through the enactment of village regulations about forest management. Therefore the managing group has the power to coerce the villagers to comply with the regulation that they made as the party who is given the



task to manage the forest. They relied on formal government law and sanctions to enforce regulations on forest to create deterrent non-compliance by the people in the village and also outsiders who intend to log the forest.

### 5.5.3 Power Relations of Villagers and the other Actors in Lubuk Beringin

Table 6 shows the relations between the Villagers and the other two actors in the village, namely Warsi and the Managing Group. I explain the power relations among them in the following paragraph.

Table 6. Villagers Relations in Lubuk Beringin Village

	Trust	Incentives	Coercion
with Warsi	✓	✓	—
with Managing Group	✓	✓	—

#### ➤ Villagers and Warsi (*trust, incentives*)

The relations of the villagers towards Warsi are mainly based on trust and incentives. When Warsi first came to Lubuk Beringin in 1999, they were welcomed by the people with open hands. From the long established interaction, villagers have trusted Warsi as a pro-community organization and have considered Warsi field staff as an insider. The people were happy to receive benchmark studies that mostly were introduced by Warsi. The field staffs were welcomed to stay with the villagers, mainly in village official's house. The people were eager to be involved in activities of Warsi held in the village. They are ready to assist when the village received benchmark study or visits by foreigners. The good relation between Warsi and the villagers have contributed to the process of gathering information. Most of my respondents in Lubuk Beringin were open and glad to be interviewed. After adopting village forest scheme, Lubuk Beringin received an award for the National Level of *Kalpataru* (an award for environmental heroes). They praised the village forest that made their village famous in Jambi and elsewhere.

The people were willing to protect the forest because previously they already had a conservation agreement developed from previous project called Integrated Conservation and Development Projects-Kerinci Seblat National Park (ICDP-TNKS) in 1999. Nowadays, the people realized because they have agreed on that in the past through the village agreement on conservation. In the past, the people claimed that they did not have formal letter to manage the forest and after the adoption of the scheme, the Ministry of Forestry handed the permit himself to the people of Lubuk Beringin. The people showed their support towards Warsi's action in promoting conservation because they have learned a lesson from the unsustainable forest extraction in the past. The people talked about severe flooding, droughts, and the absence of safe drinking water because the water in river have turned black from intense logging activities and land conversion. They also noted that prior the scheme adoption, many people in the village and other districts were involved in logging the protected forest because of the lack of awareness and economic pressure.

➤ **Villagers and Managing Group (*trust, incentives*)**

Villagers' relations towards managing group are mainly based on trust and incentives. The villagers in a way have handed over the task on forest-related activity to the managing group. They comply with the regulations that were enforced by the managing group for protecting the forest and watershed area that are important to prevent severe flooding and for the water wheel to generate electricity. The villagers are also committed to assist the program of managing group which mostly less technical such as providing logistics and accommodation for visitors. Due to the famous reputation of their village as an eco-friendly village, Lubuk Beringin was chosen as the venue for hosting the national camping for girl scouts. The people were very much pleased with the event.

The people claimed that they did not join the monitoring activity in the actual forest because it was located far away and mostly only managing group members, Warsi and ICRAF who went inside the forest. They claimed that they only participate passively in safeguarding the forest by not clearing the forest and not expanding their rubber

plots. Furthermore, some people did show their concerns for more involvement because so far forest-related activities still very much centralized within the managing group members. They also stated only carbon that was monitored but the people were not given attention. The issue on REDD+ was communicated to the people by the managing group, however, the people did not understand and still struggle to meet their daily needs. They appealed to the managing group that they only wanted better livelihoods and development for the village as a compensation for not opening the land in the forest. According to the villagers, with or without carbon in the forest, they were still committed to protect the area. However, the economic benefit from the village forest scheme was questioned a lot by the people to the managing group.

Although the villagers comply with the forest regulation, they have shown strong resistance towards the effort of managing group to propose the regulation for putting fences and chain the buffaloes. Making wooden fences was considered expensive by the villagers, and the proposal to make such regulation have been rejected three times. The managing group expressed their despair towards the buffaloes that were let loose grazing and often destroyed the people's vegetable plots. In the past, the villagers were mostly following the thought of dominant people in the village. Nowadays, however, they claimed that they became braver to voice their opinions.

#### 5.5.4 Power Relations of Warsi and the other Actors in Guguk Village

Table 7 shows the relations between Warsi and the other two actors in the village, namely the Managing Group and the villagers. I explain the power relations among them in the following paragraph.

Table 7. Warsi Relations in Guguk Village

	Trust	Incentives	Coercion
with Managing Group	—	✓	—
with Villagers	—	✓	—

➤ **Warsi and Managing Group (*incentives*)**

The relations of Warsi towards the Managing Group in Guguk are mainly incentives and coercion. In the beginning Warsi together with the initiators of customary forest worked together to gain wider support from the rest of Guguk community to adopt the customary forest scheme. Prior to that, Guguk community was also investigated by the team sent from the district government. Warsi senior staff convinced the earlier generation in Guguk in 1999 to fight for their customary right that has been violated by Injapsin, Ltd. Warsi assisted earlier member of managing group in Guguk to fulfil the procedural documents for applying forest management. Besides, Warsi is acknowledged in the current work plan for forest management as supervisor. In 2006, Warsi held a workshop in Guguk village as a forum for learning about the management from several forest managing groups. The workshop that is given was about managing financial, such as the simple way of making an income and spending chart and inform the villagers about the fund that they have.

Additionally, a CBFM (Community Based Forest Management) award from the Minister of Forestry has been accepted by the Forest Managing Group in Guguk Village in Sungai Manau sub-district, Merangin District. Unlike in Lubuk Beringin, the REDD+ issues were perceived differently by the managing group in which it might be related to the customary claim towards the forest. Warsi in general stated that the people must not focus on the compensation of REDD+ as a motivation to protect the forest. Over the years through the revival of customary practices, Guguk community were convinced that they should save the forest for the future generation. Meanwhile, Warsi has been inactive in Guguk village since 2010. Warsi asserts that Guguk should be independent and work on their own to keep improving their capacity. However, sometimes Warsi staffs still assist the visit of foreign nationals to explain about Guguk customary forest. When they receive visits from local people, the managing group are able to explain more easily as they speak the same language.

➤ **Warsi and Villagers (*incentives*)**

The relation of Warsi towards the villagers in Guguk is solely based on the power element of incentives. In the beginning, most people in Guguk were restless because

the Injapsin, Ltd did logging in their customary land and putting pegs in their rubber plot. Therefore, Warsi helped them and offer a solution to make a formal claim towards the area as a customary forest. Warsi's influence to villagers was limited due to fewer involvement in projects. This might also because Guguk still practice a strong social norms that could be a barrier for Warsi to execute their conservation program as Guguk community has indigenous claim over their lands. According to my respondents in Warsi, they perceived that the people of Guguk still hold on strongly on customs and a bit fanatic towards religion.

### 5.5.5 Power Relations of Managing Group and the other Actors in Guguk Village

Table 8 shows the relations between the Managing Group and the other two actors in the village, namely Warsi and the Villagers. I explain the power relations among them in the following paragraph.

Table 8. Managing Group Relations in Guguk Village

	Trust	Incentives	Coercion
with Warsi	✓	—	—
with Villagers	—	✓	—

#### ➤ Managing Group and Warsi (*trust*)

The relations of Guguk managing group towards Warsi are mainly trust. Warsi is considered as the mediator that had prevented an open-conflict in the past with Injapsin, Ltd. Managing group perceived Warsi as an NGO who is in favour of customary community. With this trust, the managing group mostly referred to the benefit of the scheme in the manner of how Warsi expected to be acknowledged. The managing group mostly mentioned about the benefit of adopting the scheme such as receiving various visits and benchmark study, the benefit from environmental services (water flow, increased fish stocks) and eco-tourism, and Community-Based Forest Management award from the Ministry of Forestry back then in 2006. However,

because managing group trust Warsi, they became less critical towards them. Warsi is considered as a social empowerment NGO, and not a potential donor. To them, Warsi has taught them administrative skills to have a better management transparency.

Although Guguk has fewer development projects that involving Warsi, Guguk still received various visits because the forest itself have captivated the attention from researchers and academics who conducted research on biodiversity and wildlife inside the customary forest. Furthermore, the managing group members also accomodate foreign visitors who plan to stay in the village for several days. Regardless the less intensive assistance of Warsi, Managing group still respect the work of Warsi in the past to help them in maintaining their customary claim over the land. The Guguk managing group nowadays struggle to be independent as Warsi has stopped their facilitation in Guguk village since 2010.

#### ➤ **Managing Group and Villagers (*incentives*)**

The relation of managing group towards the villagers is based on incentives. The managing group claimed that they inform the villagers and consult them in the case of receiving visitors. In a local mosque, the religious leader preached that the visitors should respect the customs in Guguk by dressing properly. As the managing group's budget was very limited, sometimes they also collected voluntary contribution from the villagers to do forest patrol. Besides, the managing also gives incentive to the villagers by involving the youths in forest patrol activity to educate them with local knowledge on various wildlife and tree species. They also facilitate potential candidates in the village to attend an English course in Yogyakarta. However, only male candidates were chosen as it is still difficult for parents to let their daughters go unsupervised.

Managing group after all dominated the work related to forest management. They set the rules about the quality and quantity of timber that could be taken from the forest. This decision making process to determine the regulations involved the managing group members and also the village apparatus. The managing group stated that the access to forest resources could be granted but with permission. Prior to be granted the rights to fell timber for building houses, the villagers should propose to clan leader,

managing group, and the village head according to the agreed rules and limits. The managing group tried to accommodate the people's aspiration and willing to discuss together in addressing differences in a peaceful manner. The managing group is perceived by the villagers as the ones with technical skills on the forest, and act as the diplomats that represent Guguk community as a whole in regards to forest management. Good communication among the villagers in Guguk to address every problem according to customs (*adat*) have reduced the likelihood of conflict on forest management as the people are relatively well-off and agreed to save the forest for future generation.

### 5.5.6 Power Relations between Villagers and the other Actors in Guguk Village

Table 9 shows the relations between the Villagers and the other two actors in the village, namely Warsi and the Managing Group. I explain the power relations among them in the following paragraph.

Table 9. Villagers Relations with the Actors in Guguk Village

	Trust	Incentives	Coercion
with Warsi	✓	—	—
with Managing Group	✓	✓	—

#### ➤ Villagers and Warsi (*trust*)

The relation of Villagers towards Warsi is solely based on trust. The people believed in the goodwill of Warsi as a pro-community NGO. The Warsi field staff did not have so much influence in the village as people in Guguk mostly recognized the earlier staffs of Warsi. The villagers in general were less enthusiastic about the presence of Warsi field staff. They only felt close to the more senior Warsi staffs that assisted them in the past struggle to gain recognition towards their land. Warsi nowadays have reduced their activity in Guguk and focus more in promoting village forest. The

relation between the villagers in Guguk and Warsi was in general still good because Warsi's contribution in the past.

➤ **Villagers and Managing Group (*trust, incentives*)**

The relation of villagers towards the managing group is based on trust and incentives. The villagers stated that they obey the decision and rules in the forest according to the pre-determined regulations by the managing group together with the *adat* functionaries. Most of forest-related activities repeatedly became the tasks of managing group with the involvement of villagers for less technical task such as providing logistics for forest patrol or during visits. In regards to securing the forest, the villagers are willing to assist the work of managing group by alerting them immediately in case they suspect some illegal activities in the forest. Within the formation of managing group members, villagers asserted that the election should be able to represent all sub-clans in Guguk, and this has been carried out until today as clan leadership is still highly respected. The villagers were also eager to learn from the managing group members who were involved in various workshops and study tour outside Guguk to enrich their own knowledge in general. The people were glad with various visits in the village. Some people talked about Nicholas Stern who came to Guguk in 2007. From these visits, the women were often being asked to help in providing food for the trip to go inside the forest.

## **5.6 The Relations within the Village**

Within the village, there are other relations between the sub-actors such as the relation between leaders and subordinates; men and women; parents and children; locals and migrants.

The relation between the leader and his subordinates are varied among these two villages. In Lubuk Beringin, the subordinates report back to the leader and the leader has the control over his subordinates. One task was delegated from the leader to the subordinate, and then the subordinate has to do it and then report back to the leader without further questioning the order (*coercion*). However, the subordinates in the managing group were overpowered by the presence of the leader in discussions. Some were afraid to speak out claiming that they showed respect to the leader. Meanwhile in



Guguk village, during the discussion about forest, the subordinates were the ones who actively explained about the forest management, and the leader was almost appeared emblematic and let the subordinates took over.

The relation between men and women in the two villages were relatively the same based on the observation in households. The women and men have clear roles and responsibilities. The women were trusted to manage the money earned by the husband, but they were also responsible for child rearing, household chores such as cleaning and cooking. Property such as rice field will be inherited to women by parents, thus in a family, the women was the one who were obligated to take care of their parents. Men as the leader in the family took the final decision making with prior consultation to the wives. Women claimed that nice husbands will sometimes help them with the house chores, however most of the time the women seek help from their daughters. Men's supremacy in the family was shown during every meal. The men in the family were usually given the first turn to take the food especially the husband, and followed by guests and children; lastly the wife after everyone else had taken their turns. The people ate quite a lot of fish in daily life; they could easily take some fish from the river where it is not part of the restricted area. When eating fish, the head will usually hand over to the husband. However in the village, fish head was a special part of the delicacy.

Apparently, women were considered as better manager for financial matters such as money. It is still very traditional when the man got money from selling rubber, they usually give the money to their wives and if they need it they could ask for it to their wives. The housewives that I interviewed claimed that the husbands will tend to be big spenders if they were the ones who are in charge of the money. Therefore, if the husbands need money, they will ask to the wives. The respondents that I interviewed claimed that they invested a lot of money on the education for their children. This indicated that the villagers have a higher expectation by financing their kids at school.

In the field, I only found one female respondent which was in Guguk village who was also a member of Village Representative Body (*Badan Perwakilan Desa* or BPD). From the interview, I got the impression that she was aware of women's emancipation

and had a vision for women to have a more active role in the community. From the interviews with my male respondents, most of them answered that they did not mind when women have bigger role in decision making. However, the extent to which women can involve in late night discussion about forest management was in fact remained very limited due to social norms that were imposed, religious beliefs, and domesticated role of women.

In both villages, education was considered important for the children. Parents will devote money earned from selling rubbers sap to pay for their children's school fees. Sometimes, they also borrowed money from the saving and loan body. However, after graduating from elementary schools in the village, parents usually send their children to a middle school in other districts or cities. Another type of informal education was also considered important by the parents which is Islamic teaching course. Most parents believed that Islamic education will give moral foundation for the children to comply with social norms and orders. Therefore, the children in Guguk and Lubuk Beringin village have to attend formal school in the morning until afternoon, and later they should attend the Islamic teaching course. Furthermore, in Guguk village, one respondent stated that early education about the forest have been taught through the involvement of teenagers in forest patrol where knowledge about the forest were passed to the younger generation.

When talking about the locals and migrants, Lubuk Beringin and Guguk village have different stories. Respondents in Lubuk Beringin claimed that they were still married to residents of the village, while in Guguk village the people had been inter-married between sub-clans. Lubuk Beringin perceived the marrying the locals will help them maintain the ownership of lands. Before my actual visit to Guguk village, I was told by one respondent in Warsi that the migrant in Guguk have less rights compared to the native Marga Pembrap people (the clan in Guguk). However, in the field I found that most respondents claimed that there was no different treatment towards the migrant. For example if there is a couple from outside their village and not necessarily belong to any particular customary community shall be accepted when they wanted to reside and settle in Guguk village. The migrants in Guguk will have to follow the same

procedure that was applied to the customary people in Guguk. After, they will have the same right as the locals over the trees in the forest for building houses given the restrictions on diameters and amount of logs that could be taken. Yet, there is a tendency for the people to maintain the domination of Islam as the sole religion of the residents. In a way, it might be more difficult for non-Muslims migrants to reside in Guguk.

### **5.7 The Complex Relations of the Actors: an Example from Guguk**

This section will take example from the relation of the three actors in the process of establishing and the management of customary forest. I use this example because I believe it could portray the interplay of the three main actors at once by taking the example from Guguk village.

In the past, the customary forest in Guguk has the history of rejection since the early initiation to adopt the scheme. Many people in Guguk prejudiced the initiators of the customary forest wanted to reap the benefits for themselves. Nevertheless, Warsi participated in convincing the people that by adopting the scheme it would provide solutions for disputes with the logging company. Warsi gave incentives to the people that by having a legal document as a permit to manage their customary land, it would secure their customary claim towards the land for the current generation and the following generation. The process to convince the people to adopt the scheme was supported by Warsi through encouragement to recruit more supporters so that they reached the majority consensus to adopt the scheme.

Furthermore, in a few years of managing the forest, the managing group in Guguk faced challenges from the villagers. The managing group was considered as lacking transparency concerning the financial report. Warsi stepped in to resolve the conflict by creating a training workshop for managing group in Guguk and invited several managing groups from other villages. From this process, it is expected that the managing groups could learn together from each other's experience. The workshop taught the people to make a simple chart of income and spending, and to publicly announce to villagers about the amount of funding that the managing groups have.

## **Chapter 6    Conclusions**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This final chapter presents the summary of main findings discovered from fieldwork, the summary of analysis, and concluding remarks and area for further research.

### **6.2 Summary of the Main Findings**

In the process of establishing the village forest and customary forest schemes, Warsi have done preliminary actions such as expressing the incentives to the locals for adopting the scheme, investigating the area to be proposed into the working area of the scheme, and documented local initiatives in managing the forest and river. Thus, Guguk village was being investigated to prove the existence of their customary community and customary land prior applying for customary forest scheme; and in Lubuk Beringin, Warsi motivate the village to reach a consensus in conserving the forest and investigate forms of local initiatives that could be combined with basic principles of sustainable forest management.

Despite a number of challenges that prevailed through the years of management, the forest managing group made it to survive from the collection of voluntary funding to implement the work plan. However, there is a fundamental problem within the management itself, where the function of managing groups will eventually be paralyzed without enough funding to implement their work plan. REDD+ is not yet a major alternative, but REDD+ could play a role with the provision of funding to reward the effort. The village forest and customary forest scheme are therefore relevant in regards to the efforts of reducing emissions. With more villages obtaining permits to manage the forest in their surroundings, the Indonesian government will finally show their seriousness in distributing the natural resources for the welfare of the people and to fulfill the pledge in emissions cut.

The findings challenged the previous literature on village forest scheme whereby it claimed to be able to accommodate the equal rights of migrants towards the forest

resources. However, data from the Lubuk Beringin as the first village forest in Indonesia showed the opposite. The forest managing group in Lubuk Beringin and respondents from the villagers showed strong rejection towards trans-migrants for fearing conflicts and reluctance to share lands with new settlers. In the meantime, data from Guguk customary forest showed a more open attitude towards migrants and had been proven throughout the process.

The study showed both similarities and differences between Lubuk Beringin Village Forest and Guguk Customary Forest. The village forest of Lubuk Beringin was legalized by a Ministerial decree and hosted a non-customary community. The resources that can be extracted from the forest for personal use was limited to non-timber forest products (NTFPs) due to the status and function of the approved area for management which was protected forest. Additionally, limited timber resource could only be used to build public facilities such as village hall, bridge, and mosque.

Customary forest on the other side, hosted a particular customary community whose historical and legal existence should be recognized first by the government prior being granted a managing permit. After the existence of customary community was approved, the managing permit then could be granted and legalized by district authority (regent). Due to the production forest status in Guguk customary forest, the community in Guguk village could also utilize limited amount of timber resources to build houses apart from the right to extract NTFPs. However, the right to exploit timber resource is subjected to strict *adat* rules and sustainable extraction principles that have been agreed on *adat* deliberation meeting and later strengthened with village regulations. The management style of the customary forest was still centralized based on *adat* practices (for both rules and sanctions), while the village forest claimed to be using formal village regulations agreed through decision making process by village assembly and officials.

The village forest of Lubuk Beringin experienced dilemmas in the management because the approved permit was situated in protected forest area. As a consequence, the utilization of timber for personal use is strictly constrained. Thus, it might spark uncertainty for the recent villages who adopted the scheme if they can actually benefit

from guarding the forest. This was evident in Lubuk Beringin as the managing group planned to return the permit if there is no further assistance from the government. Furthermore, the district government was not so accommodating either due to their stance that postulate village forests should finance themselves as they are the one who will receive the benefit from the scheme.

Furthermore, the working area to be managed by Lubuk Beringin was 2,356 ha, more than three times larger than the assigned area to be managed by Guguk community (690 ha). Therefore, to do a forest patrol, the managing group of Lubuk Beringin needed more personnel and funding. On the one side, due to a smaller area that needs to be covered, the managing group in Guguk found it easier to do monitor forest boundaries, doing forest inventory, wildlife monitoring and conducting research on biodiversity. The relatively close location of forest from the houses in the village was also an important factor that affected the performance of Guguk managing group as villagers could report immediately in the case of intruders in the forest. They indicate that the sound of chainsaw could be heard from around the river. On the other side, Lubuk Beringin village forest was located around 7 km from the villagers' houses which could pose challenges in reaching the area to do patrols and to take immediate action in tackling similar case.

When it comes to the meaning of the forest for the people, the data from Guguk village highlighted legacy and heritage for their offspring as the main reasoning for conservation efforts. This was also influencing their attitude towards the current REDD+ debate. Experiences from various preceding projects in which Lubuk Beringin was a participant, have influenced how people viewed projects and REDD+. However, the understanding on REDD+ concept in both villages have only been known to managing groups and village elites, although even here very limited and could be misleading. In Lubuk Beringin, the managing group thought the REDD+ scheme was simple and would easily reward them with a lot of money. But, later they also stated that compensation should not be the main objective for conservation and they only wanted better livelihoods and infrastructure for the village. Meanwhile, in Guguk, the managing group expressed their concerns if REDD+ projects would suddenly come

and they might lose their access on the forest. The people also claimed that they have heard about climate change but their understanding of it was limited to season shifts in harvest, warmer temperature compared to how it was in the past, and also the shallowing of river.

In Lubuk Beringin, however, *adat* rules was not used anymore because it was considered as only bringing material losses due to its penalty in the form of livestock (e.g chicken, goats and buffaloes), rice and cooking spices. Thus, they preferred to use formal state's law to enforce the regulations regarding the forest. In Guguk village, the implementation of *adat* rules was perceived as a unique instrument that distinguished their community from the rest of the society and as a form of diplomacy to show their sovereignty in resolving conflicts which pertain on their own community. *Adat* rules have been proven to bring positive result for compliance as the fine of surrendering livestock created deterrent for violation. Strong social and religious norms added to the degree of compliance that made the people reluctant to violate *adat* rules as it is still considered as a serious offense among the community in Guguk.

The study found out that there was a lack of participation of women in decision making process regarding the forest management for a number of reasons. Where mostly men were present in a discussion or meeting, women were reluctant to talk; women's workload in the household were enormous from cooking, cleaning the dishes, washing clothes, taking care of children, and managing household's finance. The man claimed that it was also less expected for women who were pregnant to attend the meeting and also women who were still nursing the child. Also, mostly the discussions regarding the forest were held during the night, when women were already exhausted from the work during the day. The strong social norms still prevent the women to interact closely with men who were not their spouses, and also to wander around alone at night was considered as insecure and bad for the women's image in the village. Despite the claim that they were being consulted, women were absent on the meetings held to discuss about forest management. Their participation was also repressed and subjected through the practice of norms and strong religious beliefs on how women should behave in public domain. The domination of men within the forest managing

groups is therefore limiting women's meaningful participation, especially in a situation where the proportion of men in the meetings was regarded as intimidating for the women.

Even though both managing groups have realized the domination of men in the management, none of them did meaningful effort to change the trend. As women were only asked to assist in providing logistical means such as food for forest patrol or their role became significant only when preparing the customary celebration of "eating heart" (in Guguk). However, women's role in managing the saving and loan body was highly recognized and appreciated by the men as women were considered better manager of money in the village (in Lubuk Beringin). Apart from that recognition, women only acted as a bank whereby the men could ask for some money whenever they wish. Nevertheless, the allocation of income was claimed mainly for meeting daily needs and for paying the children's school fees as education in both villages was considered relatively important. Several other factors contributed to the marginalization of women in managing forest resources. For instance, in a regular patrol to monitor the forest area where most men were sent to do the job; the presence of women in the patrol team was considered as slowing down the activity. This was evident in Guguk village where the managing group would likely to disapprove to take female visitor to the forest if only one woman who wanted to participate.

### **6.3 Summary Analysis**

The study found that Warsi played a very important role in promoting the village forest and customary forest schemes. The main interest and value for Warsi is conservation of the environment. In this case their aim was especially to form a barrier to protect the nearby national parks and to some extent for preparing the area for future scheme in reducing deforestation. The main interest of the villagers was economic benefit, especially for education and better livelihoods. But they were also interested in forest conservation; in Lubuk Beringin especially because of flooding and in Guguk because of respect for ancestors.



The study of power relations between these three groups showed that trust, incentives and coercion were all relevant to different extents. The study concluded the relations of Warsi with the Managing Groups could be categorized as fulfilling the incentives element as in the early adoption of the scheme Warsi approached various sub-actors in the village whose consents were crucial for gaining community's consensus in adopting the scheme for getting formal management rights; in Lubuk Beringin, Warsi has coercion power as they succeeded in playing down the interests of the managing group towards rewards by using the 'bonus' package and assert them to admit the benefit from advocacy. In Guguk, Warsi did not have so much influence anymore due to fewer projects. The relations of Warsi with the villagers are largely based on advocacy, which may be seen as incentives, or possibly coercion (especially in Lubuk Beringin). The relations of the managing group with Warsi are mainly trust in both villages. Warsi's effort in maintaining relations over the years made the managing groups keen to assist Warsi staffs in the village. The study showed that some of these relations changed over time, for example the Managing Groups became better informed. The relations of managing groups with villagers are mainly based on incentives, and also coercion to some extent in Lubuk Beringin. Because of their position as the legitimate body with the task for forest management, the managing group to some extent exercise their coercion power for enforcing regulations and banned logging activities in the forest (particularly in Lubuk Beringin due to the forest status as protected forest). For instance, people who violated the forest regulations in Lubuk Beringin would be subjected to formal state's prosecution. Meanwhile in Guguk village, failure to follow the *adat* rules and practices within the forest management itself was considered as a violation and the person would be sanctioned according to *adat*.

Meanwhile, the relations of villagers with Warsi are mainly based on trust, and to a certain extent incentives in the case of Lubuk Beringin because Warsi has built close relations with the people through projects for over a decade that made them interested to help Warsi's activities. The villagers also considered Warsi as a pro-community NGO. Warsi is relatively still active in Lubuk Beringin because Lubuk Beringin set the precedence for village forest scheme for other villages who want to adopt the same

scheme. The people were fairly proud because of so many visits from outside to learn from their experience as the first village forest. In Guguk, Warsi is perceived as the defender of the community's rights in the past. The relations of villagers with managing groups are mainly based on trust and incentives in both villages. The villagers bestow the forest-related matters to the managing group and throughout the years both actors have been cooperative to resolve issues within the forest management. Nowadays, the managing group also facilitates some people in the village to increase their capacity through an English course (particularly in Guguk village).

Although I only focused on the relations of the three actors in the village, which are Warsi, Managing Groups, and the villagers; I also discovered relations within the village that complicated the situation. Those relations were between leaders and subordinates; between women and men; between parents and children; between migrants and non-migrants. The presence of functional groups was in fact beneficial for the scheme and should not be taken for granted. Previously, the arrangement of such activity was less organized but with Warsi's leadership in the recruitment of persons acted as coordinators for each group has made many activities in the village become more organized. For instance, the saving and loan body in Lubuk Beringin has developed throughout the years and became a micro-credit instrument for the villagers when they need more money to fulfill their needs. Also, the formation of a group to arrange handicraft making activities showed that the rights towards extracting non-timber forest products have been exercised as one of the income-generating activities regardless the fact that people still experienced difficulties in marketing the products.

Furthermore, the distinction between customary rules and formal village regulations is not absolute, *adat* functionaries did not stand alone. Formal village regulations existed within the forest management by the Guguk customary community. This dualism between putting forward *adat* while maintaining official governance authority in the village could be problematic when the two were conflicted. However, the evidence from the field had shown that *adat* was not rigid, and its practice could be adapted to current practices. The thought of *adat* as something that was obsolete has been

changed through the revival of *adat* practices and the reinforcement of *adat*-based institutions. Thus, *adat* is brought into the current forest management to bring back the notion of respects towards environment in honoring the ancestors.

*Adat* practices on forest management in Guguk village have been proven resilient in the midst of depleting forest in Jambi province. In essence, *adat* teaches the equal share for a community; to continuously teach ancestor's noble virtue; and for the present generation to share the blessings from the nature to the future generation. Moreover, compliance towards agreed regulations was achieved through a process of socialization of rules and adaptation from the community; supported by trust towards respected *adat* leaders, religious leaders, the managing group, and village assembly as the main decision makers in the village; the practice of strong social norms; and respect towards ancestor's legacy including forest and its resources.

Regardless the use of customary law or *adat* rules in Guguk village, the management of the forest was still subjected to governmental control because the authority of managing group was still below the village chief as the extension of State's power in the lowest administrative governance in Indonesia which is a village. In the regulations of village forest, it was stated the forest should be managed by village institutions. The managing groups were elected democratically by the village assembly and thus they were being monitored, and to a certain extent controlled by the village officials as the extension of state's power in the village. The managing group was in fact not excluded from government control because their position was under the village chief and obligated to report to the village chief and village assembly.

At the same time, although Guguk village is managed by customary community, the bigger umbrella administration of the community is still a village unit. The replacement of traditional leadership in the society with the formal administrative village governance in 1979 had weakened *adat* leadership. However, *adat* leaders still exist and well respected by the community. Although, the role of *adat* leaders in the meetings were somehow limited to ensure the policy or rules that were adopted do not conflict with *adat* principles and to give necessary inputs based on Customs. Strong

*adat* leadership could be a benefit in managing the forest; however, strict social norms could create disadvantages for a meaningful participation of women in forest management.

As noted, REDD+ was not a major issue of debate in the villages. But managing groups in both Lubuk Beringin and Guguk expressed REDD+ project as inter-department competition in the state level, and that they would likely to be left out. The villagers began to know that they might benefit from protecting the forest through carbon projects. However, carbon projects were considered over the time as empty promises as they have not yet come after the on-going rumours were spread around the village and created expectations among the people. Without referring to REDD+, my respondents said that they wanted the community surrounding the forest to be prosperous, and they can also enjoy free education, and be guaranteed better access to health services.

For many years, it has been proven that people in Lubuk Beringin and Guguk village have implemented sustainable management of resources through forest conservation, imposing regulations that prohibit the over-exploitation of the forest, and through the change of attitude on how they view the forest and its resources. All of this could happen as a result of continuous advocacy by the facilitating NGO, Warsi and also the stable income generated from tapping rubber and additional income from other crops yielded from rubber-agroforest garden; also, the relatively well-off households in *Simpang* Guguk (upper Guguk area).

Despite strong leadership in community forestry, several numbers of internal and external problems have been encountered by the forest managing groups, the villagers, and Warsi. Challenges in realizing the community forest scheme have prevailed before and within the process such as transparency issues within the managing group and issues in technical and financial capacities to execute the work plan for the forest scheme. In one hand, the people thanked Warsi for their assistance in early establishment of the scheme. However, they are now more independent and able to build their own community network without having to consult with Warsi anymore. Thus, Warsi's influence in the ground was slowly depleted due to improved capacity

of the forest managers. Nevertheless, Warsi was still well-respected by the people in regards to their contribution in the past.

In assessing the benefit from the scheme, both villages could not hinder themselves from measuring the benefit in terms of economy. They concluded that prior and post adoption of the scheme, there was no changes in any kind for their economy. The increasing visits and benchmark studies by various parties have created “two sides of the same coin” phenomenon. On the one hand, the people were glad that their village and forest management have become famous nationally and abroad. On the other hand, they only felt as an object because the results of various visitations and research conducted in their villages were not shared and they did not receive feedbacks from it.

In most instances, the results from the research have shown that both villages have reached success in conserving the forest. The local government is also start indicating that village forest and customary forest could be considered as one of the efforts to reduce deforestation through the lobbying of Warsi. The decision letters both from the ministerial and regency level to legalize the managing permit have contributed to more secure forest tenure for Lubuk Beringin and Guguk community. It could also be considered as a legal instrument for forest-dependent communities to negotiate with government and private sectors. Furthermore, the marking of boundaries and forest inventory (the procedures that have been done prior being granted a managing permit by the government) will reduce the cost for REDD+ investment. However, in order to sustain the schemes in the future, a stream of funding is needed to help finance the conservation effort.

## **6.4 Concluding Remarks and Further Research**

From this research, my readers could have a better understanding about two types of community forest scheme in Jambi province from the experience of Lubuk Beringin as the pioneer in village forest and also from Guguk community who has a world-renowned customary forest. Different characteristics and traits have been explained, along with the current updates from the management. Designating forest areas as village forest and customary forest could limit the government to hand over forest

concessions for loggings and plantation. The scale of debate about what is the most suitable community forest scheme is extensive and multifaceted from various provincial background and performance of local government; hence further research on diverse community forest scheme would be valuable to both challenge and complement this study. Case studies from different villages who adopt the same scheme would also be helpful for assessing various local perspectives on the topic as experiences from Lubuk Beringin and Guguk are also subjected to their own exclusivity. Exploring the following as future research strategies can facilitate the attainment of this goal: conducting research on the experience from other village forest in Jambi such as Senamat Ulu, Sungai Mengkuang, Laman Panjang; research on other types of community forest scheme such as *Hutan Nagari* in West Sumatra, *Hutan Kemasyarakatan* (HKm), and *Hutan Tanaman Rakyat* (HTR). By comparing the experiences, it could show why a particular scheme is more suitable in certain province depending on the local context and initiatives. In regards to the recently approved amendment on the Constitution regarding the status of customary forest, further research will be needed to provide the implications of the regulations on the continuation of customary forest scheme and the recognition of indigenous people and customary community's rights as a whole.

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix 1: List of Interview Questions to Villagers**

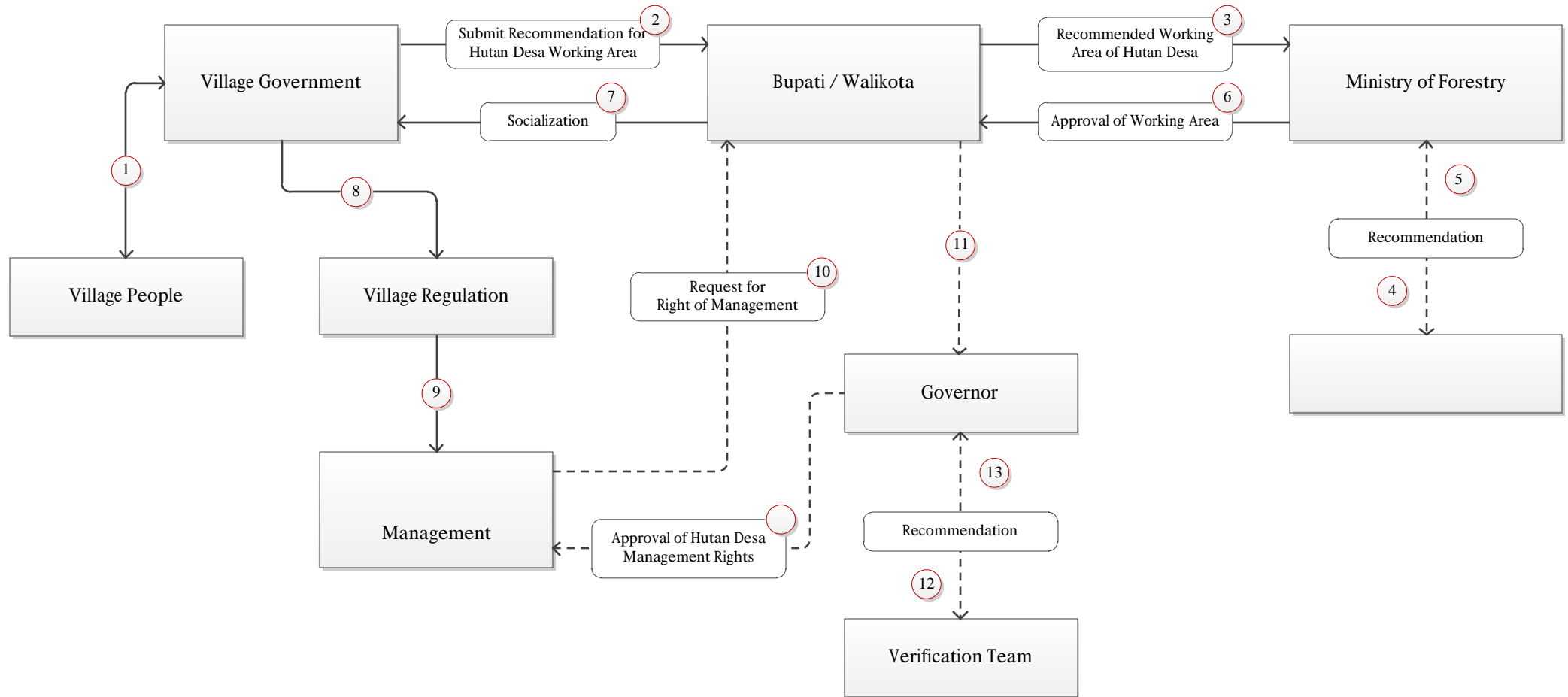
1. Can you explain about village forest? How was the mechanism? Rights and obligations?
2. How is the management of the forest? Can you mention any related activities?
3. What kind of non-timber products that you take from the forest?
4. What is the main livelihood in the village? Alternative of livelihoods?
5. Do you know the difference between village forest and customary forest?
6. Who have the rights to extract NTFP, or timber in the forest? How was the process?
7. What kind of regulations that mainly used in daily life and in managing the forest?
8. What are the sanctions when people violate the regulations or rules?
9. Are there any problems within the management of the forest scheme? What are important things to be noted?
10. How was your perception about Warsi? Do you know Warsi staff well?
11. What are differences before and after the adoption of the scheme?
12. Do you about climate change, global warming or REDD+?
13. Do you know the impacts of the above?
14. What kind of crops cultivate in the rubber agroforest?
15. How about the timber source in the forest? Can you take them?
16. How do you think about the welfare of the people?

17. Are you involved in forest management? If yes, explained. If no, please explain why.
18. Who was the decision maker on regulations regarding the forest?
19. What about women's participation in it?
20. Is there any supportive group or institution within the village?

## **Appendix 2: List of Interview Questions to Managing Group**

1. Can you explain about village forest/customary forest? The history?
2. Can you explain about the management of the forest?
3. What are the forest resources that could be extracted? How was the procedure?
4. Who has the access towards timber or NTFP?
5. What do you think the differences about village forest and customary forest?
6. What are the consequences for non-compliance?
7. Are there any problems within the management of the forest?
8. What issues that need to be addressed?
9. How is your perception about Warsi? Do you know them well?
10. What are the differences prior and after obtaining managing permit?
11. Do you know about climate change, global warming, and perhaps REDD+?
12. What do you think about the livelihood of people?
13. How about villagers' participation in forest management?
14. Who were the previous visitors of the forest?

## Appendix 3: Process of Obtaining *Hutan Desa* Licenses



- Procedure of Stipulation of Hutan Desa working area
- > Procedure of Obtaining Hutan Desa Management Rights
- Source: Forest Carbon

Source: Forest Carbon - Chatellier and Osmond (2011)